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ETHNICITY IN KASHMIR

Studies in Culture, Religion, Economy & Social Structure

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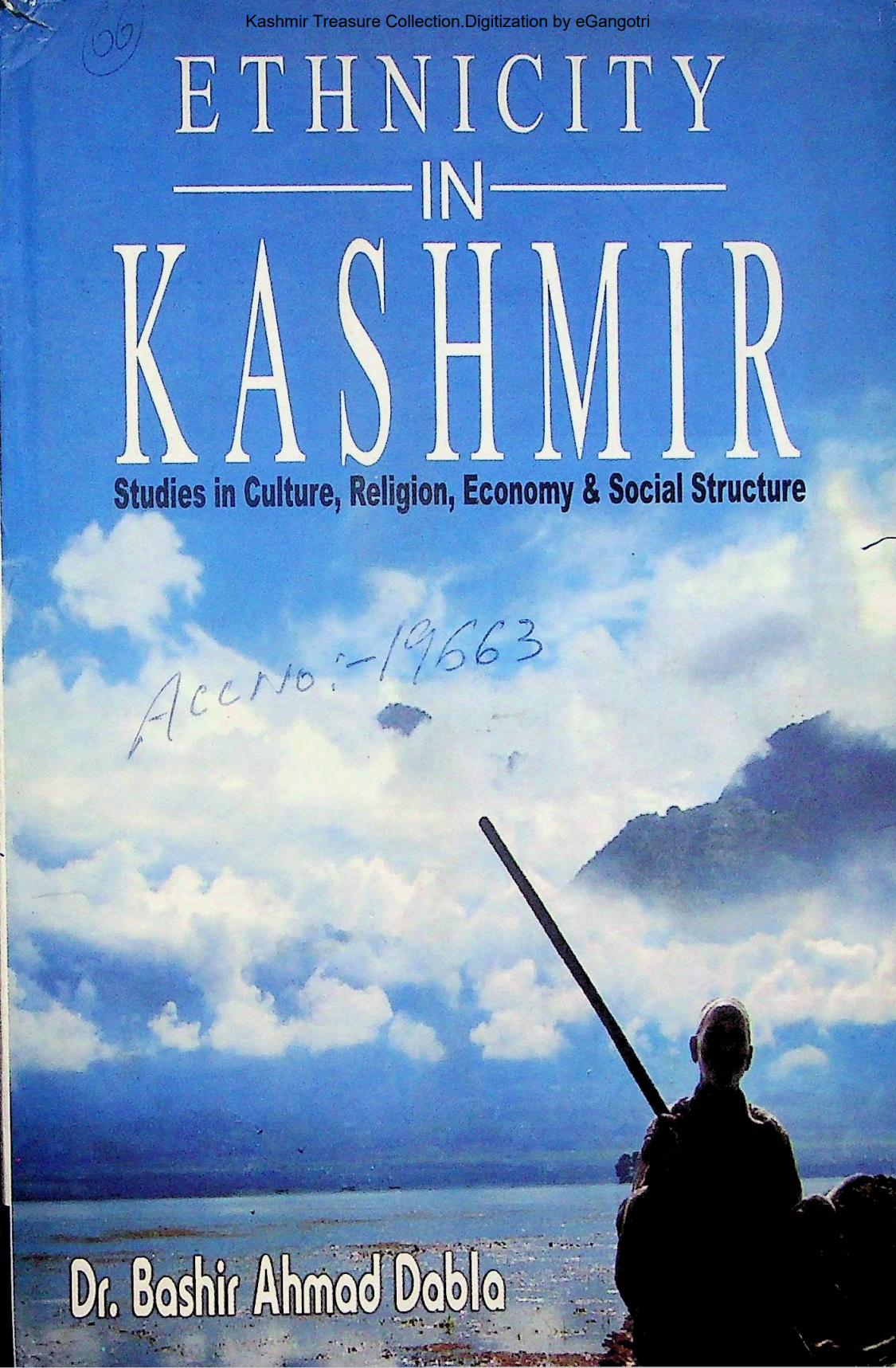

Dr. Bashir Ahmad Dabla

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This book makes a sociological presentation of the existing reality, in its complexity and totality, of the phenomenon of "ethnicity" in varying regions of Kashmir located at extreme opposite borders.

Section A presents an anthropological review of the village of "Darpora" (belonging to the district of Kupwara) in terms of historical antecedents, culture factors, religious life, economic-occupational activities, family-marriage, social life, education situation, impact of militancy and multi- dimensional problems in perspective.

Section B composes an anthropological survey of Ramban area (Ramban Town, presently a district, and five nearby villages of Methra, Karol, Seri, Damkund and Tangar) in terms of area-location, ethnic diversity, different languages, religious life, marriage practices, division of labour, migration, historical remains, impact of militancy and constitutional provisions for ethnic-religious minorities.

Section C presents a sociological profile of different problems of several ethnic and socially peripheral communities in the valley of Kashmir such as Gujjars (living in the hinterlands) and Haanjis (Boatmen living in the boats on the Dal Lake). The focus of these presentations has been on the identification and analysis of crucial problems which these most backward communities face in Kashmir.

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ETHNICITY IN KASHMIR

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ETHNICITY IN KASHMIR

Studies in Culture, Religion, Economy & Social Structure

DR. BASHIR AHMAD DABLA

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Publisher's Submission

I am highly indebted to my revered respected and most remembered father *Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad,* himself a scion of an illustrious and noble family of publishers and printers, for introducing me to a trade which was to him a life time passion and which in turn became for me my only passion, engagement and my identity. Whatever our family stands for is the outcome of a long, strenuous and continuous struggle to help create among our Kashmiri brethren a desire for learning, an urgency to enter the world of books and curiosity for knowledge.

It is no exaggeration to claim that ours was the concern which worked solicitously for the preservation, printing and publication of manuscripts which were otherwise fast deteriorating, unattended and unread in various dark dingy and damp "sites". We brought them to light and made the world aware of, and more responsive to them.

My grandfather *Sheikh Abdul Gaffar* is credited with the introduction of publication and printing of books way back in the early days of twentieth century by an arrangement with the *Lahore Steam Press* run by Hafiz-ullah. From his

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book house at Chattabal which then was the hub of business activities in Srinagar, he initiated printing and publication auspiciously with *Aurad-i-Fatiha* and *Aurad-i-Qadriya*.

But before my grandfather could consolidate his trade and get my father introduced to its niceties he passed away.

My father, who was yet uninitiated to and un-ordained in the world of Books, had to bend his back to carry out the most sacred job of his life. He soon found Chattabal, too, small for his expanding work and established the concern *Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad & Sons Tajran-e-Kutub* at Maharaj Ganj Srinagar and then subsequently the most well known, awe inspiring concern Haji Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad and Sons at Maisuma Bazar, Budshah Chowk Srinagar.

Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad considered publication of Books a sacred duty, a national obligation and a service to mankind. He was the president of Book Sellers and Publishers Association till his death in February 23,1999 which was mourned by millions of Kashmiris; while others come and go he is the person who stands alluringly alone, aloft and above all.

As a lesser mortal and a man of humble ambitions I have dedicated my life in the service of men to facilitate their urge to know more and to help them achieve the most cherished goals of learning and knowledge.

The present publication is a part of our endeavors to preserve our heritage and help it reach to the broader *World of Book-Lovers*.

We highly thank our well wishers and assure them that we would never allow ourselves the comforts of rest till we achieve our objective - the *dissemination* of knowledge in Kashmir. Have trust in us and let us have your good wishes.

Publisher

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Foreword

This book is composed of five studies of five different ethnic groups which refer to the collectivity of individuals who consider themselves or are considered by others, to share come characteristics which differentiate them from other collectivities in a society within which they develop distinct cultural behaviour. Since these distinct ethnic groups inhabit a certain specific territory, they develop area-specific characteristics too. In this context, we have carried out ethnographic-anthropological - sociological studies in five qualitatively distinct communities and areas which are as follows:

[i] Dardpora Village
[ii] Sawalkote, Ramban Area
[iii] Hazratbal Area in Srinagar District
[iv] Bandipora Area in Baramulla District
[v] Different Areas in Srinagar District

Though these studies were carried out at different times and different places, the major themes of investigation had some significant similarity. In fact, a certain degree of similarity has been observed in the cultural behaviour of the ethnic communities. Thus there is a reason to put these studies in one context.

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Acknowledgements

First, I feel extremely grateful to the agencies/ organizations which sponsored financially these empirical studies at different times. Special mention may be made of WISCOMP, New Delhi and NORPLAN, Norway which sponsored the study of "Ethnographic Study of Dardpora Village and the study of "Anthropological Survey of Sawalkote Area" respectively. Thanks also for the district administration, Srinagar [specially the then Development Commissioner, Mr. Sandeep Nayak] for providing financial, transport and other support for carrying out the micro-level studies of various social problems in the Kashmir valley.

Second, I remain thankful to all research investigators who carried the difficult job of research investigation passionately.

I record our thanks to the Staff and Managing Director Sheikh Bashir Ahmad of Jay Kay Book Shop and Publishers, Srinagar Kashmir for bringing out the book in a nice form and that too within record time.

Last, but not the least, my head goes down in acknowledging the sincere response of the respondents in all places where the research was carried out. I respect and regard their responses which became the basis for all theoretical and empirical formulations in these studies.

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Head
Department of Sociology & Socil Work
University of Kashmir, Srinagar - 190006, J&K

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Preface

An ethnography stands as a description of a culture, a subculture, or a group of people with a distinctive lifestyle. It describes the people, their customs, the events in which they participate, and their conversations. It also describes the materials they use [food, clothing, shelter and utensils] in everyday life and how they use them. It describes what people do actually? It may include a wide range of human activities. Other aspects of life that could be examined include family-kinship structure, religious rituals and behaviour, political systems and activities, and leisure activities. Many other aspects of daily life including social interactions and conversations are studied by the ethnographers. Most ethnographic studies attempt to provide some interpretation of the meaning of the culture under study.

The sociologists and anthropologists who undertake ethnographic studies are usually called "field workers" because they go to where their subjects live and study them in their natural environment. Ethnographic research is distinct from the approach of researchers pursuing experimental or survey research. Ethnographic research is qualitative rather than quantitative- that is, it is concerned with describing and interpreting the existing realities.

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It is in the preceding thematic framework that this ethnographic study was carried out in the village of Dardpora in Kupwara district in the Kashmir valley of Jammu and Kashmir State. This study had also a particular theoretical context in which it was done. The explanation of this context follows. The fact stands with a lot of empirical evidence that the human life in Kashmir in its entirety was radically effected with the emergence and social dynamics of militancy which started here from 1989. It may be argued that, in actuality , every individual, family, group, class and community had faced its implications directly or in directly. It was observed by the concerned experts that a general deterioration in human life standards in. all fields Kashmir took place due to the militancy. It was also observed that some social groups like women, children, youth and elders suffered extremely and more than others, this undesirable situation in Kashmir became the focus of studies by many local and non -local individual experts-professionals, agencies, organizations, and so on. The main-major hypothesis of most of these studies was that all problems in Kashmir which have emerged in the recent past, i. e. during the last 16 years, exclusively due to the factors/s of militancy. They also suggested measures accordingly to resolve these problems.

But, taking in to considerations the totality of the situation, this approach/understanding seems partial and particularistic. It is because the fact's of life related to militancy in Kashmir is different. It is partly because while some important problems emerged due to the militancy factor exclusive, many other problems in Kashmir existed even before militancy started here. While the former type of problem/s included fundamentalization of religious attitudes and behaviour, the latter type of problems were related to the educational, health, economic, political,

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cultural and other fields of life. These latter type of problems got multiplied as well as intensified during the- period of militancy. Moreover, new problems were added to the existing list of these problems. The relevant example in the case of former problems may be the radical change in the religious understanding and subsequent religious behaviour in Kashmir. While as the religious understanding in Kashmir was of Sufi nature, the religious behaviour was characterized with reshi behaviour. In the latter type of problem, the literacy stands the most important problem. This problem existed even in the pre-militancy period as it was very low comparatively, the problem was intensified and got added features like heavy drop-out rate, especially of the females, during the militancy period. Thus it clearly follows that all major problems existing in the Kashmir valley need to be studied in the pre-militancy period.

It is essentially with the preceding realistic understanding and theoretical perspective that this study was earned out in Dardpora village. The village was selected for study keeping in view the nature and intensity of the impact of conflict situation in this village. This large scale impact in this village reflects in the death of 32 male heads of the household and the consequent suffering of widows and orphans in this village. The focus of this study has been OR the existing problems [such as social, cultural, educational, religious, political and psychological] which may be token care of by the governmental and non-governmental organizations, especially by the WISCOMP.

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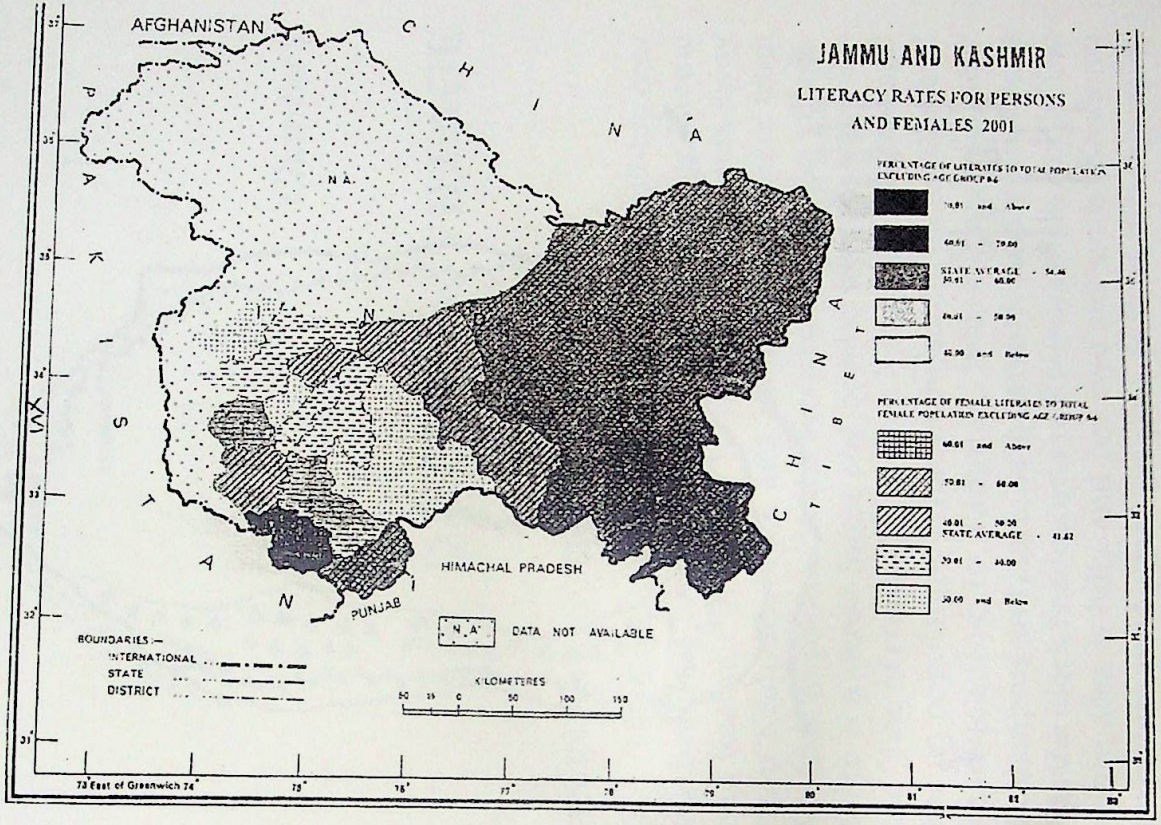
Section A

Ethnographic Study of Dardpora Village



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Chapter 1

DARDPORA VILLAGE

AN INTRODUCTION

01. The *Dardpora* village is located on the hill-top near the Kralpora town in district Kupwara in the Jammu and Kashmir [JK] state. It is about 3 kilometers away from Kralpora Block and about 27 kilometers from District Kupwara. In the western side of the village, there is a dense forest and beyond the hill, there lies the "line of control" [between India and Pakistan] and has no population. While in the south, there is general road leading to Tangdar, two villages namely Rashanpora and Harie lie in its north. Finally, Dardpora has the Block headquarter of Kralpora in the north. The entire area is hilly and has two sub-units: Kashmiri Dardpora and Gujjar Dardpora. In these two sub-units, while the former lies in the lower part and the latter is located at the upper part.

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02. The total population of the village, according to the official census records, was 3,555 persons [1,854 males and 1701 females] in 1981 and has increased to 10,651 persons [5,515 males and 5,136 females] in 2001. The 1991 census was not carried out in the JK state due to militancy conditions. Though the figures or estimates about fertility and mortality rates about the entire village are not available, one may assume or infer that both rates are high. Similarly, the overall growth rate in the village may be higher in comparison to the surrounding villages. As per the official information, the village has 978 households. It is generally divided on the basis *of patis* which is the equivalent of "mohallas" which represent the lowest demographic unit after family and clan. The Pati is generally formed as a distinct unit on the occupational and economic bases. The Dardpora village is composed of 33 *patis* which are as follows:

1. Aastan Mohalla
2. Aram Mohalla
3. Badi Takki
4. Banjjer Pati
5. Bhagh Mohalla
6. Battanga Mohalla
7. Bhat Mohalla
8. ChamraPati
9. Gader Mohalla
10. Ghasla Pati
11. Gulnard

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12. Hundook Mohalla
13. Khan Mohalla
14. Khatana Mohalla
15. Kumar Mohalla
16. Lone Mohalla
17. Maidan Bala
18. Maidan Payeen
19. Mir Mohalla
20. Maqdam Mohalla
21. Moori Pati
22. Mukam
23. Naka Pati
24. Nangeri Mohalla
25. Paul Mohalla
26. Peer Mohalla
27. Peer Mohalla [Mukaam]
28. Rashg Mohalla
29. Saraj Nadi
30. Sheikh Mohalla
31. Sheikh Mohalla [Mukaam]
32. Thandipora
33. Tulookad Naka.

03. It was observed that there has not been significant degree of in or out migration in the village. That has increased the cultural and social homogeneity of the

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village community. However, a lesser number of villagers migrate temporarily but regularly to the towns or the city of Srinagar primarily for economic and occupational reasons. Since huge majority of villagers, especially living in the upper part, have no land or have very less land, the male heads of their households feel compelled to go to the towns or the city [even to cities outside JK state] to earn money for their families during winter months and during the period when there is no work available in the villages. Some others do migrate to the city during winter season for carrying out petty occupational activities. Some of them who are very less in number have been seen begging in the city. Thus it reveals that population composition in the village has not been disturbed radically in the recent times.

04. Though the village retains the backward character in terms of not having necessary modern facilities for human life, it is undergoing change slowly which reflects in the emerging urban features in the village. In this connection, the emerging consumer culture in the general life-style of majority of the villagers is worth mentioning. Changes in dress pattern, food habits, new items of eatables, toiletries, jewelry, items of in and out entertainment, use of mass media items, increase in purchasing power and increasing social role of women are some of the important indicators. Moreover, ideas and ideals related to the positive future vision can also be mentioned in this regard.

05. There are no *pucca* roads in the village. In fact, there is one main road, seven kilometers long, which goes

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from the beginning to the end of the village, is *kuchi* and muddy. It becomes very very difficult, even dangerous, to walk on this road during rainfall and snowfall. Even our research team had to lace one such situation. Some other roads in the upper part are in the same condition. While the heavy passenger vehicles can hardly go to all mohallas in the village, particularly on the rainy days, light vehicles can drive up to the last mohalla. It was reported that some metador vehicles having the capacity for 30 passengers ply to some mohallas only, only one bus having the capacity of more than 50 passengers drive up to the last mohalla of the village. This bus makes one run per day to the village, goes in the evening to the last mohalla, stays there for the night and comes back to the town in the morning. During heavy rainfall and snowfall, this bus does not ply on the road.

06. It was observed that the lower part of the village, i.e., Kashmiri Dardpora, has got the electricity from 1980 onwards, but the upper part of the village, i.e., Gujjar Dardpora, is still without electricity. Though the political parties and political leaders of the area had promised several times to the Gujjar inhabitants of the village to provide much-needed electricity, but the promise has not been fulfilled so far. It is because of this difference between the lower and upper parts of the village that the latter suffers in many other fields of life.

07. Since it is hilly in nature, it faces acute shortage of drinking water. The only sources of water in the village

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are rain, snow in the hills and some springs, especially the spring at Muqam. While this spring only provides water to the villagers for many months in a year, all other springs get dry for many months, especially during the hot season. In this situation, many villagers have to consume and drink dirty water, which has given rise to some cronic diseases in the village. It was reported that draught-like situation prevails every year in the village in the hot season during June, July, August and September. A scheme for providing pure drinking water to all villagers throughout the year was started by the government in 1990, but it could not be carried out due to the militancy conditions in the area at that time.

08. Very unexpectedly, nearly all village inhabitants in the upper as well as lower parts have got their own houses in place of "Khotas" in which they used to live for centuries. While some houses give excellent-lavish look, most of these houses are simple and made of stones, bricks, cement and wood. Some of these houses have been built in the lower part of the village according to modern architectural style and they really give a palatial view. When one enters the village for the first time and encounters such houses, one gets the impression of a prosperous village. But, this in not correct. It in because every Kashmiri needs a *pucca* or *kucha* house because of winter season here. In reality, one can not survive in the valley without a shelter. It is in this context that every family in all villages have a house. But, this must not hide the poverty situation in

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most of the villages in general and in Dardpora village in particular. It was observed that majority of the people living in this village were really poor. Most of their basic needs of life have not been fulfilled. Some others are very poor.

09. The security situation, which became dangerous after militancy started in 1989, seems near-to-normal. It follows that the villagers are safe from the guns of the Indian security forces as well as from the guns of the militants belonging to different groups. Since it is located near the Line of Control [LOC], the Indian army and other para-military forces make regular visits to the village and ensure complete absence of militants in the area. However, as per the unofficial reports, some militants visit the area occasionally and during the night. Even our team had to face the burnt at the Indian security forces. On our first visit to the village in November 2005, we were followed by the BSF security van. At the last stage, we were approached and asked to explain about our work. Thank God, we had informed in advance the local police about our visit and work. After satisfying themselves, they left us for our work.

10. The 8 October 2005 earthquake made serious damages in the village. Though there was no human loss, about a hundred houses were fully damaged, and other hundreds of houses got damaged partly. The Action Aid International [AAI] and other NGOs provided huge relief and rehabilitation to these affected families. The former's team accompanied us to the

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village and showed us the nature of damage and their help to the sufferers of that tragedy. But, some NGOs, particularly the WISCOMP, were working in the village before this earthquake in the context of the impact of militancy.

11. This study is primarily an ethnographic account of village community of Dardpora which has about 1,000 households and each household has about 11 members on an average. The focus was also on 32 households in the village who all have lost their male heads of households during the period of militancy in the valley. The facts and findings mentioned here essentially represent their local perception. In other words, this ethnographic study of Dardpora village community is solely based on our empirical investigation/observation. The entire primary source information was gathered through the methods of direct and participant observation in the village. The observation by the investigators was directed by the 'interview Guide' which was composed of required themes and sub-themes that provided the thematic framework for this ethnographic study. They considered the villagers' perception/s of ideas, ideals, problems, issues and so on as the authentic and reliable. The explanation/clarification from the villagers was sought wherever needed. Thus the fieldwork for this ethnographic study was carried out by the Principal Investigator and two research investigators during the period of October 2005 - March 2006. While the former visited the village in November-December 2005, the investigators carried out the work whenever it was

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possible during the entire period. In actuality, the weather conditions determined when to go or not to go for work in the village. It was because of heavy snowfall in the village that who had to halt the work during winter months.

12. Finally, we may mention about some limitations and difficulties faced during the course of this study. First, the winter weather conditions in the village created many problems which we could not avoid, leading to the delay in carrying out and completing the research work. For most of the time during November 2005 and March 2006, we could not even approach the village respondents due to heavy snowfall in the area. Second, equally important was the problem of insecurity conditions created by the security forces and militants. We had to face security checks again and again, leading to delay in work and frustration among investigators. However, we had no encounter with the militants. Third, there was the problem of rapport between the villagers and research investigator. This problem was solved partly by selecting a research investigator who lived in the nearby village and had already his contacts with many people in the village. Since many respondents knew him well, they could pass on the information easily. This problem of rapport was further solved by the active support of the local unit of the AAI. Finally, the advance information about our academic work to the local police and para-military forces present in the area proved helpful in the field.

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Chapter 2

ANTECEDENTS

01. The information about social history of the village inhabitants was meant to know about their origin and antecedents. Since there are no written records on this topic, we had to depend on oral views conveyed by the elders in the village during our interaction with them. The origin and antecedents of the villagers in Dardpora arc traced differently. First, the dominant group of Kashmiris belong to the same lot of Kashmiris living in the valley. They compose about 46 per cent of the total population in the village [an per recent unofficial estimates] and consider themselves as the only indigenous people in the area. They consider others particularly the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* as people with exogenous origin. So, they consciously maintain their distinction in the village in comparison to others. While they consider themselves belonging to the high race and

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so maintain higher position in the village social hierarchy, they dub others [especially *Gujjars* and *Pahadis*] as the people who roam and wander. Thus they trace their origin to 5000 years old society and culture in ancient Kashmir. There is other opinion too about the antecedents of Kashmiris living in this area. According to this version, the Kashmiris of this area are said to have come from Dardistan centuries back and have settled here at that time. It is believed that the name of 'Dardpora' to this village has been given in this context.

The second dominant group in Dardpora is of *Gujjars* who compose [as per recent unofficial estimates] about 32 per cent of the total population in the village. According to some legends, the *Gujjars* of this area are descendents of Dravidians and have come here in the ancient past and settled here before *Pahadis* came and settled here. Since they were engaged in the occupation related to tending cattle, sheep, goats and other animals, they needed green pastures necessarily. This area suited them much, so they settled here thousands of years back. However, it has been noted by many observers that *Gujjars* are leaving this traditional occupation fast and are opting for other occupations. With this change, they are losing the traditional features of their distinctive identity.

The *Pahadis*, who compose of about 22 percent of the total population in the village, are believed to have come from Kaghan, an area which falls in the present-day Pakistan, and settled in this area in the recent past.

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According to them, they were compelled to move from that area to this area because of famine in the former area. The *pahadis* are thus characterized as "recent outsiders" by the Kashmiris as well as the *Gujjars*. They have settled in the upper part of the village. There prevails extreme competition and conflict between the *Gujjars* and the *Pahadis* leading sometimes to minor quarrels in the village. However, both of them are not respected by the Kashmiris in the village and by the outsiders living in the nearby villages.

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Chapter 3

CULTURAL FEATURES

1. LANGUAGES:

Since three main groups of population reside in Dardpora village in their respective proportions, i.e. about 46 %, 32% and 22%, three main languages are read, written and spoken. These languages are *Kashmiri, Gojri* and *Pahadi*. The first language is highly developed in terms of having rich literature, spoken in the entire valley and outside areas in JK state, especially in Doda, Poonch and Rajouri districts, and is taught in all government schools from the primary till the university stage. On the other hand, the second and third languages stand under-developed comparatively, have not produced / accumulated rich literature, spoken in limited areas in the JK state, and are not taught in the government or private schools even in the areas where these are spoken. In fact, there exists a controversy about

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the status of these languages. Taking in to consideration the prevailing conditions related to these languages, the question raised by the literary authorities is whether *Gojri* and *Pahadi* are languages or mere dialects? Again questions arc raised whether these languages are one language or two languages? Keeping this controversy aside [because of having no competence required in this connection], the fact stands that *Gojri* and *Pahadi* languages have the same Persian script [which is also the script of the Urdu language]. It was reported as well as observed that this makes it easy to read and write these languages even by non-Gujjar and non-Pahadi people.

2. It seems important to mention here that Urdu is the state language in all regions of JK state and is used by all people irrespective of their differences in mother-tongue, region, religion and socio-economic status. So, this language, though not of local origin, may be characterized as the 'masses language' and 'link language' in the state. At the same time, the English language, though not the state language in JK, is used as the medium of instruction in all government as well as non-government / private / missionary schools through out the stale from the primary stage. Same treatment is given to this language in Dardpora village. Thus, in totality, the usage of different languages [in terms of their reading, writing and speaking] in this village is made as per following proportions [which are based on local and unofficial estimates]:

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S. No.	Language	Used by %age of villagers
01.	Urdu	80 - 94 percent
02.	Kashmiri	64 - 70
03.	Gojri	41- 50
04.	Pahadi	35 - 45
05.	English	30 - 35

2. NAMES AND TITLES:

It has been observed by sociologists and anthropologists that, in general, names of individuals [males and females, and adults and children] in a society reflect a particular linguistic background and features of the social-cultural ethos. Same was the case with Dardpora village. In this connection, we prepared 4 lists of the names of villagers with their Roman, Persian and Devnagari scripts, and their degree/s of popularity. These four lists are presented below:

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NAMES OF MEN IN DARDPORA

English	Urdu	Hindi
Aalam Din	علم دین	आलम दीन
Abdullah	عبداللہ	अब्दुल्लह
Abrar	ابرار	अबरार
Afsar	افسر	अफसर
Afzal	افزل	अफज़ल
Ahmad	احمد	अहमद
Ahtesham	احتشام	अहतशिम
Akbar	اکبر	अकबर
Akhlaq	اخلاق	इख़लक
Akram	اکرم	अकरम
Arshad	ارشد	अरशद
Atiq	اطیق	अतीक
Aziz	عزیز	अज़ीज़
Barkat Alam	برکت عالم	बरकत आलम
Bashir	بشیر	बशीर
Burhan	برہان	बुरहान
Dilawar	دلاور	दिलावर
Dildar	دلدار	दिलदार
Ehsaas	احساس	एहसास
Ehsan	احسان	एहसान
Enayat	عنایت	इनायत
Faqir	فقیر	फकीर
Farooq	فاروق	फारोक
Fayaz-uddin	فیاز الدین	फयज़ दीन

English	Urdu	Hindi
Feroz	فیروز	फेरोज़
Gafoor	غفور	गफ़ूर
Gazi	غازی	गज़ी
Gulam Mohd.	غلام محمد	गुलममे हमद
Gulam Mustafa	غلام مصطفیٰ	गुलममुसतफा
Gulam Nabi	غلام نبی	गुलम नबी
Gulam Rasool	غلام رسول	गुलम रसूल
Gulzar	گلزار	गुलज़र
Habib-ul-lah	حبیب اللہ	हबीब उलतह
Hanief	حنیف	हनीफ
Hakim	حاکم	हकीम
Hashim	حاشم	हशिम
Hayat	حیات	हयत
Hussain	حسین	हुसैन
Iftikhar	افتخار	इफतकिर
Iqbal	اقبال	इकबाल
Intikhan-ud-din	انتخاب عالم	इंतखिउ दीन
Irshad	ارشاد	इरशद
Jabbar	جبار	जबबर
Jabir	جابر	जबर
Jalal-ud-Din	جلال الدین	जलालु दीन
Jalees	جلیس	जलीस
Kafeelu Din	کفیل الدین	कफीलु दीन
Karim	کریم	करीम

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English	Urdu	Hindi
Kifayat	کفایت	कफि यत
LalDin	لال دین	ल ल दी न
Liyakat	لیاقت	लि यि कत
Mannan	منان	मन न ·
Manzoor	منظور	मंज़ूर
Miskeen	مسکین	मसिकी न
Mir Alam	میر علم	मी र आलम
Mohi-ud-din	موہدین	मे ही दी न
Mujib	موجب	मुजी ब
Munawar	منور	मुनव्वर
Nazeer	نظیر	नज़ी र
Neek Mohd.	نیک محمد	नेक मे हमद
Noor Alam	نورعالم	नूर आलम
Qadir	قادر	क़ा दि र
Qadus	قادس	कदूस
Qalandar	قلندر	कलनदर
Qamar Din	کمردین	कमर दी न
Qasim	قاسم	क़ा सि म
Qutub-uddin	کتب دین	कुतुब दी न
Rahim	رحیم	रही म
Rahmatullah	رحمت اللہ	रहमत उल्लह
Rajwali	راجوالی	राजव ली
Rasheed	راشد	रशी द
Razaqul Haq	رزاقل حق	रज़ कुल

English	Urdu	Hindi
Riyaz	ریاض	रयि ज़
Sader	سادر	स दर
Sadruddin	سدرُدین	सदुरुदी न
Safuddin	سفیددین	सेफ़ुदी न
Safir	سافر	स फि रि
Sajaan	ساجن	स जन
Sarfaraz	سرفراز	सरफराज़
Sarwar	سرور	सरवर
Salamuddin	سلام الدین	सलमु दी न
Sayeed	سیّد	सयद
Shahbaz	شہباز	श हबा ज़
Shamshir	شمشیر	शमशेर
Showkat	شوکت	शे कत
Sher Wali	شیروالی	शेरवली
Sirajuddin	سراج الدین	सि राजुदी न
Tajdar	تاجدار	त जदर
Taj Din	تاج دین	त ज दी न
Wahab	وہاب	व हब
Wali	والی	व ली
Waris	وارث	व रसि
Yousuf	یوسف	युसुफ
Zain-ud-din	زیدالدین	ज़ैनुदी न

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NAMES OF WOMEN IN DARDPORA

English	Urdu	Hindi
Afrooza	افروزا	अफरोज़
Akhter	اختر	अखतर
Aneesa	انیسا	अनीस
Arjumand	ارجمند	अरुज़मंद
Arzoo	آرزو	आरज़ू
Azeema	ازیما	अज़ीम
Bakhat	بخت	बखत
Bano	بانو	बानू
Barkat	برکت	बरकत
Bibi	بی بی	बीबी
Bisnoori	بسنوری	बिस्नूरी
Darkshan	درکشان	दरखशन
Dil Afroz	دل آفروز	दिल अफरोज़
Dil Awaiz	دل آویز	दिल आवेज़
Dil Nawaz	دل نواز	दिल नवाज़
Farza	فرزا	फरज़
Farzana	فرزانا	फरज़ाना
Gul Badan	گل بدن	गुलबदन
Gul Chain	گل چین	गुलचैन
Gul Jan	گل جان	गुलजान
Gul Raina	گل رینہ	गुलरैन
Hadia	حادیہ	हदिया
Hajra	حاجرہ	हजिरा
Haria	حاریہ	हरिया
Hashmat	حشمت	हशमत
Husni	حسنی	हुसनी

English	Urdu	Hindi
Irsha	ارشا	इरश
Irshada	ارشادہ	इरशाद
Jameela Begum	جمیلہ بیگم	जमील बेगम
Khatooni	خاتونی	खतूनी
Khaira	خیرہ	खैरह
Khazan	خازان	खज़न
Kharsheeda	خرشیدہ	खुरशीद
Laila	لیلہ	लैल
Lali Jan	لالی جان	लालीजन
Lubna	لبنا	लुबन
Mahi-Araz	ماہی ارض	महि अरज़
Mahira	ماہرہ	महिरा
Masooma	ماسومہ	मसूम
Masrat	مسرت	मसरत
Maryam	مریم	मरयम
Mehtab	مہتاب	महतब
Marjan	مرجان	मरजन
Moomina	مومنا	मूमिन
Monira	مونیرہ	मुनीरा
Munnawara	منوارہ	मुनव्वरा
Mushraf	مشرف	मुशरफ
Mymoona	میمونہ	मैमून
Nazira	نظیرہ	नज़ीरा
Nazneen	نازنین	नज़नीन
Nazpari	نازپری	नज़परी
Neelofar	نیلوفر	नीलोफर

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English	Urdu	Hindi
Noori	نوری	नूरी
Nusrat	نصرت	नुसरत
Parveen	پروین	परवीन
Rafia	رافیہ	राफिया
Rahila	راحیلہ	राहिला
Raj Bi	راج بی	राज बी
Rukhsana	رخسانہ	रुखसना
Rani	رانی	रानी
Rohana	رحانہ	रहना
Rani	رانی	रानी
Rehana	ریحانہ	रेहना
Reshma	ریشما	रेशम
Ruhi	روہی	रूही
Ruhsana	رخسانہ	रुखसना
Saiba	سایبہ	सबिया
Sahiba	صاحبہ	साहिबा
Saira	سایرہ	साहिरा
Saleema	سلیما	सलीम
Sakina	سکینا	सकीना
Salma	سلما	सलमा
Sameen	سامین	समीना
Sarwar	سرور	सरूर
Sarwar-Sabirel	سرورآے جان	सरवे जना
Saida	سایدہ	सयिदा
Shaida	شایدہ	शाहिदा
Shakeela	شکیلا	शकीला

English	Urdu	Hindi
Shamshada	شمشادہ	शमशाद
Sultana	سلطانہ	सुलतना
Sagra Sabriel	ساگروسابریل	सग्रा सबील
Taj Begum	تاج بیگم	ताज बेगम
Tanveera	تنویرہ	तनवीरा
Tasleema	تسلیما	तसलीम
Touba	طوبا	तूबा
Wahida	واہبہ	वहिदा
Yasmeen	یاسمین	यसमीन
Zeena	زینہ	ज़ीना
Zaitoon	زیتون	ज़ैतून
Zakira	زاکرہ	ज़किरा
Zareen	زرین	ज़रीना
Zarah	زہرہ	ज़हरा
Zulekah	زولیکھا	ज़ुलेख
Zeenat	زینت	ज़ीनत

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NAMES OF MALE CHILDREN IN DARDPORA

English	Urdu	Hindi
Aamir	عامر	आमिर
Aabid	عابد	आबिद
Abrar	ابرار	अबरार
Adil	عادل	आदिल
Ajaz	اعجاز	ऐज़ाज़
Ashfaq	اشفاق	अशफाक
Akhter	اختر	अखतर
Amaan	امان	अमान
Ameen	امین	अमीन
Arshad	ارشد	अरशद
Ashfaq	اشفاق	अशफाक़
Ashraf	اشرف	अशरफ
Basharat	بشارت	बशारत
Danish	دانش	दानिश
Ehsaan	احسان	अहसान
Farmaan	فرمان	फरमान
Firdous	فردوس	फिरदेस
Furqan	فرقان	फुरकान
Gowhar	گوہر	गोहर
Ishtiyaque	اشتیاق	इशतियाक
Khaleel	خلیل	खलील
Khalid	خالد	खालिद
Latief	لطیف	लतीफ
Majid	ماجد	मजद
Mansoor	منصور	मनसूर

English	Urdu	Hindi
Masdar	مصدر	मसदर
Naseer	نصیر	नसीर
Nasir	ناصر	नसिर
Qayoom	قیوم	कयेम
Rais	رئیس	रयीस
Rizwan	رضوان	रज़िवान
Rouf	روف	रूफ
Sajid	ساجد	सजिद
Saleem	سلیم	सलीम
Shadaab	شاداب	शदाब
Sharawat	شراوت	शरावत
Sharik	شارق	शरिक
Tabish	طابش	तबिश
Tariq	طارق	तरिक
Tahir	طاہر	तहिर
Tauseef	توصیف	तेसीफ
Zahoor	ظہور	ज़हूर

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NAMES OF FEMALE CHILDREN IN DARDPORA

English	Urdu	Hindi
Ara	آرا	आराह
Aasima	آسیما	आसमि
Aamirah	آمیرہ	आमरिह
Afshan	افشاں	अफश न
Anjuman	انجمن	अंज़मन
Armaan	ارمان	अरम न
Aasiya	آسیا	आसिय
Atiqa	آطیقا	अतीक
Dilshada	دلشادہ	दिलशाद
Fahmeeda	فہمیدہ	फहमी द
Farhana	فرحانہ	फरह न
Fatima	فاطمہ	फ तमि
Fazila	فاضیلہ	फ ज़िल
Gousia.	گوسیہ	गे सिय
Gulshan	گلشن	गुलशन
Hameeda	حمیدہ	हमी द
Hameera	حمیرہ	हुमैरा
Ishrat	اشرت	इशरत
Jawahara	جواہرہ	जवाहरि
Khalida	خالدہ	ख लिद
Razia	رابی	राबी
Raina	راضیا	राज़िय
Rimsha	رمشا	रेन
Rizwana	رزوانہ	रमिश
Sabah	صبا	रिज़वान

English	Urdu	Hindi
Saboora	سبورہ	सबूरा
Saima	سایما	स इम
Shakira	شاکرہ	स इरा
Shabnum	شبنم	श कि रा
Shahida	شاہدہ	शबनम
Shaheeda	شاہدہ	श हिद
Shaheen	شاہین	श हीद
Shahzada	شہزادہ	श हीन
Shaista	شائستہ	श इज़ द
Sofia	شرین	शरीन
Tabia	سوفیہ	सूफिय
Tabish	طابیا	त बिय
Tamana	طابش	त बिश
Ulfat	تمنا	तमन्न
Zahida	الفت	उलफत
Zakia	زاہدہ	ज़ हिद
Zareefa	زاکیا	ज़ किय
Zia	زاریفا	ज़ रिफ
	ضیا	ज़िय

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Beliefs and Attitudes:

It was observed in Dardpora village that the beliefs and attitudes are generally religiously determined and so are religiously oriented. The religious ideas and ideals are so dominant and embedded that the villagers can never avoid their adoption fully in relation to the beliefs and attitudes. In actuality, the social life of individuals and the community at large revolve around or in the framework of religiously determined and religiously-oriented beliefs and altitudes. The ideas of *Khudiat, Risalat* and *Aakherat* play the central role in determining the contents of beliefs and attitudes. Other basic religious concepts related to the determination of existing beliefs and attitudes are sacredness of Holy Quran, performing *Namaz* daily, observing fast, going for *Hajj*, paying *Zakat* regularly and living with *Ummah*. These and other such beliefs shape the social pattern of life in the village. Again, these beliefs determine the structure and function of the attitudes prevailing among the villagers.

It was also observed in the village that social attitudes too are religiously-determined and religiously - oriented. That situation necessarily leads to the establishment of close relations between beliefs and attitudes. In this context, the role of the concepts of *Niki-achayi* and *Badi-Burayi* lead to the rise of desirable attitudes among the villagers at the individual as well as collective level. While these attitudes usually determine the nature of relations between various

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groups and sub-groups within the village, these [altitudes] also structure the relations between insiders [i.e. villagers) and outsiders, i.e. people living in surrounding villages and others. The traditional guest-host relationship prevailing in the village can be seen in the background of these beliefs and the consequent attitudes.

It was specifically observed in Dardpora that the traditional beliefs and attitudes revolved around the notion that one and all human beings must think and work about the betterment of 'this' and the 'others' worlds [life and hereafter] seriously and sincerely.

3. CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS:

Since the villagers of Dardpora, like many villagers/villages in the Kashmir valley, have remained isolated for a long time, while the customary life in the village has not been disturbed much, the dominance of 'tradition' in the social life is still intact comparatively. In actuality, all in-family and out-family situations in the village clearly reveal the features of customs and traditions. One encounters the aspects of customary-traditional life-style everywhere when he or she enters the village. Thus the customary life-style related to the family reflects in respect of and submission to the patriarchical authority by family members, established relationship between parents and married-unmarried children; male-female rights and responsibilities in and out of family life; patterns of gender discrimination;

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pattern of kinship relations; following of the traditional marriage practices; and traditional relations between various communities within the village.

After undergoing the process of conversion peacefully, the Kashmiri society at large developed the multi-religious character which, in the long run, gave rise to the 'composite culture' in Kashmir. In this context, there emerged the tolerance of and respect for different religious [as well as non-religious] practices in Kashmir. This reality of social life especially related to local customs and traditions is still alive in the valley and in the village Dardpora too. It was reported that some families of Kashmiri Pandits [KP] were living some decades back in the lower part of the village. While some of them migrated outside JK state even before militancy started primarily for educational, employment and other purposes, others left the valley during the decade of 1990s primarily due to their threat perception. However, a few families still reside in the village. They live life like others. Sometimes, it seems difficult to distinguish them from others.

During the process of observation in the village, it was found that the customary life was more prevalent among the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* than among the Kashmiris. It was explained by the informers in terms of more education, exposure, income, and so on among the latter than the former.

Certain customs and traditions in Kashmir have developed in different epochs of its history and these have also emerged in rural-urban background. Certain

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religious and cultural trends have also shaped these customs and traditions. All these societal features have become the component parts of the customs and tradition. These cultural realities reflect in the guest-host relationship, material and other help to the neighbours, regard for and legitimacy of the elders-parents, respect for women and their role, and help to children. However, some customs and traditions are ignored or dropped partly or fully mainly due to the impact of cultural exposure. The nature and impact of values and norms have to be seen in the preceding context.

4. RITUALS:

It was observed in Dardpora that the village life is full of ritual performances which were inherited from the elder generation and transferred to the younger generation. It was found that the villagers were very conscious and very concerned about their transformation to the younger generation in original in totality and in as early time as possible. However, the youngsters didn't feel so much concerned about it. But, when they grow elder, they show their positive response and concern about the maintenance and continuity of the rituals with highest degree of devotion and commitment.

Thus the ritual life in the village stood as the component and inseparable part of the social dynamics. In this context, the sacred roles *of peer, faqir, baba,* and

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miya provide the necessary functional roles directly or indirectly related to social harmony, social solidarity and social uniformity and homogeneity in the village. However, the ritual life in three communities of *Kashmiris*, *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* in Dardpora reveal certain degree of difference and similarity in their rituals performance. It was also found that the rituals were religiously as well as traditionally determined. Moreover, in addition to other factors, the belief system and supersitions directly contribute to the functional dynamics of the ritual performances on the part of iniduals, families, groups and communities. The details about some main/major rituals performed in the village Dardpora at present follows:

] At the time of birth of a child [boy or girl], the *azan* is recited in the right ear of the baby by a known person, relative or the *dai*. In some cases, the baby is not exposed for some weeks or days to those who do not belong to the family or clan. In other cases, some sacrifice of an animal, especially the sheep, is made at home or payment of money is made at the shrine where they had promised in advance to do so. Some niy*az* function to celebrate the birth of a child is also organized in some families. *Manet* [the spoken will made in advance] is fulfilled by all those who commit themselves to do it;

After the death, a person, male or female, is given a full bath and cover the whole body from head to toe with white cloth, called *kafan*, by the near-relatives and neighbours [but the persons who die for the religious cause, called martyers, are not given this last bath and

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are not buried necessarily in family~clan graveyard] and is buried among the ancestors in his/her family or clan graveyard It is followed by the *fateh-khani* functions till four days, in addition to *dua* and *fateh* functions during those days, a lot of alms, money and other material items [such as rice, flour, maize and so on] are given to the poor people of this and other villages in the name of the dead person. It is strongly believed that these acts benefit the spirit of the dead in the 'other world'.

In the case of marriage, important rituals performed in Dardpora include the oral agreement function, exchange of gifts on several occasions, meeting of the bridegroom and the bride, written or unwritten *Nikah*, payment of *mehr* and dowry, act of second, third and fourth marriage, patri-local marriage, act/s of divorce and post-marital discards and community involvement. Further details of these ritual performances will be given in the separate chapter on marriage in this study.

Other details about major - main rituals performed in Dardpora are given on next page:

The above-mentioned ritual performances are in vogue in the village community-wise, i.e. Kashmiris, *Gujjars* and *Pahadis*. There are similarities as well as dissimilarities between communities in performing different rituals. While *astaan bosi, Daez gadaen* and *niaz saal* are very popular among the Kashmiri community members, seeing *peer/baba/faqir/mian* before going out

Other details about major-main rituals performed in Dardpora are given below

Name/Name of the ritual	Occasion of the ritual	Act Performed by	Purpose of the act
Shukrana/qurbani	illness	slaughter of sheep/cock	gettingrecovered from illness
Meant	bad times	household	to come over bad times
safety in travel	travel start	any family member	to travel safely
Raasta katna	any time in a day	any concerned individually in the family	to avoid any abnormality in the day
to see peer/baba/faqir/mian	a particular time	-do-	to to school; to join a new job; to start the business
Aastan bosi	-do-	-do-	-do- to go with barat at the time marriage
Aab khalen	a particular season	village community members	to go to a shrine with water and other items
Astaan parasti	daily/weekly/monthly	any concerned individual	to attend shrine/dargah in his /her locality
Rozza	any particular Day/s ina a month	-do-	to get a self purpose fulfilled
Daez gadaen	Exam. times of a Boy/girl	a boy or a girl as the examinee	to get passed in the exams.
Niaz saal	a particular day	the concerned family	to thank God for fulfilling a particular need; to send dua' to a dead person
Celebrating Festival	time of the festival	family members	to celebrate a particular day

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for some good cause stand very common among the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis*. It was observed that though rituals are performed in the village at large-scale, there has been an element of change present in the situation.

6. FOOD HABITS:

It was observed in the village that that the food habits existing among the villagers in Dardpora are diverse in nature and content. These habits have been adopted over a long period and the main factors responsible for contributing to their rise include age, income, social-cultural environment, climatic conditions, growing availability of new food items in their areas and the local or nearby market, and exposure determined cultural change.

It was also observed in the village that all inhabitants in general consume different items of food and tea at three particular times. In the morning, they take tea and bread; while in the afternoon, they consume rice/roti and vegetables. In the evening too, they take rice/roti and vegetables. However, there exist minor differences between various families. It follows that in the families of servicemen and the government servants take lunch alter some time of the morning tea and lake tea again after they come back from their offices after 4.00 O'clock. Similarly, the businessmen also take their lunch at around 10.00 in the morning. Students too follow the same pattern. Rest of the family members take their lunch around noon. However, a general

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pattern of food habits was observed among the villagers in Dardpora, the details of which are given on table:

Food Habits in Dardpora village

Morning	Lunch	4:00 p.m.	Dinner
Maize bread Tea - Salty/lipton Eggs [occasional] Kehwa Milk	Rice/Roti Vegetable Eggs [o] Cheese [o] Meat [o]	Tea-salty/lipton Roti/bread/biscuits	Rice/Roti vegetable Meat [o] Eggs [o] Chicken [o]

There are some other distinctive features of food habits of the villagers in Dardpora which include the following:

First, all inhabitants in the village, irrespective of their differences in language and culture, consume their foods while sitting on the ground over *dastar-khan* on all occasions within and outside their homes. This is specially done when there is some guest in the home and he has to take food there;

Second, when there are many people in the home, all of them consume their food together, i.e., every four persons share their food on a bigger-sized and traditional plate called *trami*. This practice is applied at all occasions within as well as outside the homes of all villagers;

Third, the meat is considered as the most delicious dish by all villagers [as is considered by all Kashmiris living in the entire valley]. So, non-vegetarian dishes/ items arc prepared in the normal times and on all occasions too. In some economically well-off families

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in the village, the meat dish is prepared daily, of course differently;

Fourth, on all occasions especially Eed, marriages and festivals, all dishes to be consumed by the guests as well as by the family members, are of non-vegetarian nature. In actuality, the traditional *wazwan* [composed of 15 - 25 meat-based dishes and all prepared by special cooks called *waza*] is served to the guests on all special occasions in the village;

Fifth, a comprehensive review of food habits in Dardpora revealed that there exists a minor difference between the past and the present. Though there was very less consumption of meat in the village, especially among the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis*, there is more consumption [comparatively], especially among the Kashmiris at present. Some more, rather new, food items, which have come in the near-by market, are been consume in the village. Moreover, though there was no scope for tea in the day except the salty tea in the morning, the Lipton [sweat] tea is consumed by all in the village more than once; and

Sixth, the fact of the differentiation in food habits in the village can be explained in terms of the economic differences of the classes there. While the costly items like chicken, meat, rice and *kehwa* are prepared and consumed in the upper and middle classes/groups, especially among the Kashmiris, the cheaper items such as roti, vegetables and sally tea arc consumed in the lower classes-groups in the village, especially among the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis*.

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7. DRESS PATTERNS: The fact stands with a lot of empirical evidence that there prevails no uniform pattern of dress in Dardpora. In actuality, different factors have given rise to different patterns of dress in the village. These factors of primary importance include sex, age, education, occupation/profession, economic position, social status / stratification, weather conditions and migration and the consequent exposure. The details about common dresses among the male and female adults and among the male and female children in Dardpora are mentioned below:

Details about male and female adults Dresses in Dardpora.

Male Adults		Female Adults	
Summer	**Winter**	**Summer**	**Winter**
Khan dress	Shirt-Pant	Firaq-Salwar-Dopatta	F-S-D [warm]
Cap	Sweater	Abaya	Sikarof
Turban	Cap	Sikarof	Abaya
Coat	Turban		Sweater[warm]
English Suit	Faren		Faren
	Blanket		Shawl
	English Suit		

Details about Male and Female Children Dresses in Dardpora

Male Adults		Female Adults	
Summer	**Winter**	**Summer**	**Winter**
Shirt-Pant	Shirt-Pant	F.S.D.	F.S.D.
T. Shirt	Jeans	Head Sikarof	Sikarof
Jeans	Sweater		Cap
Khan dress	Cap		Shawl
	Jacket		Faren
	Faren		Jacket/Overcoat
	Blanket		Sweater

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The details about the dress patterns in the village, given above, stand for the common dresses there. But, at the same time, there are some uncommon and specific dresses prevalent in the village. While the uncommon dresses are dresses used by agriculturalists, businessmen, servicemen and women, the specific dresses refer to the dresses of *molvi sahib* and dresses which are used at the time of marriage, *Eid*, festivals and so on. But, there is hardly any evidence present in the village dresses which can be characterized as *purdah* among the village women.

It was observed in the village that minor difference existed between the dresses of the past and the present. In reality, the villagers conveyed that they had any dress in the past, but, the situation is extremely opposite at present. Differences in dress patterns also observed among the three communities in the village, i. e., *Gujjars*, *Pahadis* and *Kashmiris*. While costly dresses were used by the Kashmiris, cheaper, and out of date, dresses were used by the *Pahadis* and *Gujjars*.

8. **LEISURE TIME:** It was noted in Dardpora that its inhabitants spent their leisure time differently. On the one hand, there exists one pattern of entertainment among *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* living in the upper part of the village. On the other hand, there exists other pattern of entertainment among the Kashmiris living in the lower part of the village. The basic difference in the patterns of leisure-entertainment was because of the electricity which was available in the lower part and

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not to the upper part. Thus the availability or non-availability of electricity determines the nature, contents and duration of the entertainment. Other factors which play determining role in the process include education of villagers, income, occupation/profession, age, sex, socio-cultural ethos and so on.

In the preceding context it was observed among the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* that they have comparatively more time for leisure-entertainment. But, they had no resources and no facilities. So, they generally go to the bed early and get up early. They use their leisure time in the primitive way. In the families, they spent a lot of leisure time and talk about their own and others matters. All family members participate in this in-family gossip. Outside the family, they hold the gossip sessions either in the mosques or the shops in their respective *patis*. Thus the institution of 'gossip' has emerged as crucial institution which provides the needed daily information in addition to its role of socialization of youngsters. Since nearly 100 per cent *Gujjar* and *Pahadi* families posses a radio or transistor, radio listening stands as another area of entertainment. Inquiries regarding the preferred programmes revealed the following:

★	Gojri programme/s	listen by 97% listeners
★	Hindi songs	90%
★	Kashmiri music	55%
★	News bulletins	32%
★	Health programmes	23%

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★	Religious programmes	60%
★	Development programmes	12%
★	Other programmes	33%

These villagers also enjoy on special occasions like Eed, marriage, festivals and family ceremonies.

On the other hand, the Kashmiris are living in the lower part of Dardpora and have electricity. Thus they have many channels for entertainment and spent their leisure accordingly. Like their counterparts [*Gujjars* and *Paliadis*] in the village, the Kashmiris have a strong institution of 'gossip' within and outside their families. In their families, in which the whole family participates actively, the family members chat for hours and the topics range from domestic problems to national-international affairs. Outside their families, the men gossip in the mosques and on the shops. Thus the villagers interact regularly and set all information about the village life. The second area of leisure time entertainment is television for the Kashmiri villagers, since electricity is available to them. It was conveyed that they spend hours together everyday in the evening for watching T.V. programmes, our enquiry revealed that they watch local, national and satellite channels of television programmes in the following priority-wise order:

★ Hindi films
★ Hindi songs and other related programmes
★ Kashmiri programmes

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- ★ Pakistani T.V. programmes
- ★ News bulletins and current affairs programmes
- ★ Health programmes
- ★ Sports programmes
- ★ Cultural programmes
- ★ Educational programmes.

The villagers are highly conscious about religious attitudes and behaviour. So, most of them, especially the elderly men, pray in their respective area mosques and fulfill other religious obligations. They also get entertained by enjoying on special occasions particularly *Eid*, marriage, and festivals. The members of this community sing and dance for many days. They celebrate these occasions not only in days but in the nights too.

In this context, it may be relevant here to note that old ways of spending leisure time have lost. It reflects crudely in the traditional way of telling stories to their children and grand children in the evening or before going to bed. This practice has been wiped-out completely from social life in the village.

9. New Architecture: The cultural features of the village Dardpora also reflect in the new architectural style in their houses which have been constructed in the recent decades and represent a mixture of the traditional and modern styles. This even reflects in the newly-constructed mosques and shrines in the entire

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village. One gets this impression when one enters the village from the main road side. These new houses are completely *pucca* constructed by stones, bricks, iron [in some cases], cement and wood, and have steel roofs. In comparison to this, the old houses, called *khotas,* were *kucha* made of mud and wood and had no space and privacy for all members of the family. But, these *khotas* have now been largely replaced by new houses among the majority of villagers.

It may be noted here that more or less all villagers in all communities lived in *Khotas* which were k*ucha* houses made of mud and wood or of wood alone. But, the present situation gives a new picture completely. However, this observation must be recorded that the new houses with new architectural style [in place of old houses called *khotey*] *were* constructed more by Kashmiris and less by *Gujjars* and *Pahadis.*

10. Culture and Identity: It was specifically found that all villagers composed of Kashmiris. *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* are highly conscious about their cultural identity. They maintain and uphold it at all times, especially when encounter or interact with the outsiders. This identity is of multiple natures. It has many layers and varied dimensions. It is maintained at three levels of [a] culture and language; [b] religion; and [c] region-power. But, these layers and levels operate simultaneously. It was revealed in the village that, in practice, this identity is exploited by political parties and others organizations

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and groups. It was also reported that this identity reflects more prominently on the political, religious and cultural occasions.

However, this identity gets fractured and divided at the internal/village level. In the context of local social-political dynamics, villagers get divided on the basis of culture and language and mostly shape some aspects of political behaviour in the village. In this situation, they usually compete and even fight for getting more facilities or concessions from the government. In this way, they follow their community interests. Thus the cultural factor determines their relationship within the village and outside the village.

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Chapter 4

RELIGIOUS LIFE

1. The Dardpora village is inhabited by Muslims only. As per the census records, the total population of this village in 2001 was 7,216 persons [5,515 males and 1,701 females] who all were Muslims. The whole Muslim population of the village belongs to the *Sunni* sect. It was reported in the village that no *Shia* Muslim lives in the village. They may be living in the surrounding villages. The Muslims in the village follow the *Hanafi* school of thought which gives a particular explanation / interpretation to the issues and problems of daily life,

2. The life of villagers revolve around the fundamental beliefs of Islamic religion and related practices. These beliefs refer to the belief in God Almighty, finality of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), praying five times a day, observing one month's fast

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during the Islamic month of *Ramzan*, paying to the poor and needy 2½ per cent of the extra wealth, and performing *Hajj*, if possible. All villagers, irrespective of their differences in culture, language, education, race, and socio-economic status, want to follow seriously and strictly these Islamic ideas and ideals in their lifetime. They specifically want their children and grand-children to follow these religious teachings in totality. They feel that if their children follow Islamic ideals successfully, they will consider themselves "successful persons." If they fail to follow the Islamic model of life, they will consider themselves as "failed persons."

3. The whole life in the village is dominated by the religion, i.e., Islam. In fact, their life-pattern can be characterized as the "religious way of life." Every walk of life and every matter of life was viewed in terms of religion, its permissions, objections and restrictions. In actuality, Islam stands as the most-referred point in the village life. Thus all villagers practice the ideas and Ideals of religion and avoid everything which religion has prohibited or considered undesirable. In brief, the village elders want to live the religious life in totality and expect from the young villagers to follow them.

4. The religious way of life gets the institutional support from the mosques in the village, where they pray five times a day, learn about Islamic ideas and ideals, discuss with neighbours and outsiders the religious as well as worldly affairs, and shape the social-cultural responses to various developments. It was found that there were 12 mosques in the village

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and all were functional. The names of these mosques and their location were as follows:

LIST OF MOSQUES AND SHRINES IN DARDPUR

1. Masjid-i-Bala Pati
2. Masjid-i-Gulnad
3. Masjid-i-Payeen
4. Masjid-i-Chowkidar Mohalla
5. Masjid-i-Paul Mohalla
6. Musjid-i-Khan Mohalla
7. Masjid-i-Shah Mohalla
8. Masjid-i-Paswal Mohalla
9. Masjid-i-Muqaam
10. Masjid-i-Sheikh Mohalla
11. Masjid-i-Kumar Mohalla
12. Masjid-i-Maidan Payeen
13. Masjid-i-Maidan Bala
14. Masjid-i-Molana
15. Masjid-i-Mir Mohalla
16. Masjid-i-Tulakood Mohalla
17. Masjid-i-Hunnan
18. Masjid-i-Hundooq Mohalla
19. Masjid-i-Bhagh Mohalla
20. Masjid-i-Bhatt Mohalla
21. Masjid-i-Khatan Mohalla
22. Masjid-i- Bilal
23. Hanfia Jamia Masjid
24. Jamia Masjid Dardpur.

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LIST OF SHRINES

1. Aabi Shafa, Mukaam
2. Aastani Rahim Sahib, Paul Mohalla
3. Aastani Peer, Mukaam
4. Aastani Shah Sahib, Maidan Bala
5. Aastani Panchtane-Pak, Aastan Mohalla.

It was noted in the village that majority of the villagers pray five times a day without any break, while a minority of the villagers don't pray all times and in the village mosques. It was primarily because these villagers remain outside the village during the day-time for their occupational-economic activities. However, they pray in the local mosques in the morning and evening. It was observed that mosques in the village functionally become 'social spots' where every individual convey his experiences of daily life outside the village. It was revealed that, during the hey days of militancy in 1990s, these gatherings had emerged as the sole basis of getting information, However, these meetings and chatting therein are completely different from the 'gossip' which takes place in the village shops. While the former chat is very serious, the latter does not remain so serious. Again, while in the former, only some serious matters are discussed, any matter can be discussed in the latter.

5. Other basic religious practice of fast *[roza]* is followed by the villagers very seriously. In this practice, people keep fast from early in the morning till the sunset. It was reported that all male and female

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villagers, including children, keep fast strictly and without any break during the Islamic month of *Ramazaan* every year. The religious practice *of Zakat* [i. e., paying 2½ % money to the poor and needy] is not followed in the village. It was primarily because there was hardly anybody who had accumulated extra wealth. Again, since not many rich people live in the village, there are not many people who perform the *Hajj* in Mecca and Madina in present-day Saudi Arabia. However, it was reported that a few persons from the village's Kashmiri community have gone for *Hajj* in the last few years.

6. It seems important to note here that these features of religious life, explained inn the preceding paras, are concerned with men only. Though women in the village are equally or more religious than their men, their role is limited to the in-family situations in practice. They don't perform any visible or significant religious role outside their homes or in the mosques or shrines. In fact, they have proved more religious in the fields of prayers and fasting, but within the in-family context. Thus they have proved more useful and successful in socializing their children in religious beliefs and practices. The women don't go to the mosques on any day. But, they go to the shrines regularly and more than their men go there. This may be explained by saying that the attendance at the shrines is not only because of the religious purpose/factor but also because they [and their children who usually accompany them] get entertained there and make purchases of petty items for themselves and their family members. This is an

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important aspect of the village economy in Kashmir valley related to economic implications of the celebration of festivals through out the year.

7. The above-mentioned aspects of religious life in Dardpora reflect that the villagers follow the doctrinal religion seriously and according to the ideas and ideals of Islam which are based on *Quran, Sunnah* and other authentic and relevant doctrinal sources. This perception of religion may be characterized as the literary tradition of Islam which is universal in nature. But, at the same time, people in the village follow certain folk practices which may not fit in the formal religious framework of beliefs and practices, but don't go against the basic ideas of Islam. The first among these practices may be *Aastan Parasti* (shrine worshiping). Though this practice is not allowed in pure Islam, it has emerged strongly in this village [like other villages in the Kashmir valley). It is primarily because of following of some pre-Islamic practices/traits even after the conversion to Islam. Seen in this perspective, some pre-Islamic religious practices have become the inseparable part of folk religion in Kashmir and is not considered as "un-Islamic" by the masses. In this thematic background, people in the village attend the shrine/s daily, weekly, monthly or yearly and in continuity. They, women as well as men, go to shrines to get their needs or aspirations fulfilled. For this purpose, they perform the rituals like *Daez Gaden* [thread or cloth fixing on the windows or doors of the shrine]. This ritual is performed with the intention to do something special if his/her need is fulfilled. Some *Peers*

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and *Faqirs* stay in or around the shrine. People go to meet them, so that their needs get fulfilled. Going to the *Peer Sahib* on all special occasions like to start one's career, to go for getting education, to go for marriage, to construct a new house, to start a new business and so on and get his blessings is considered necessary. Many *peers, faqirs and mian sahibs* are locals, i. e., they were born in this village and live also in the same village. But, some of them were born and live in other villagers. However, the fact is that all such people are given high regards and people generally submit before their moral authority. It is very difficult to criticize them or to revolt against them.

8. The second area of folk [religious] practices is belief and practices related to the existing superstitions. As was observed and reported too, certain superstitions which effect the individuals as well as families do exist in the village, though there is no religious sanctity for these practices. In response lo our query to the villagers, the following superstitions were reported:

(a) If a cat, especially of black colour, passes in front of the man or woman in the morning, the entire day of that individual will be disastrous for him or her. So, one must return back to his home.

(b) If a dog crosses or cuts the way of an individual in the morning, he or she will face a problem certainly. So, it is desirable to avoid the routine work on that day.

(c) If the cock crows in the light of the day, it is considered highly undesirable for the individual

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and the family.

(d) The lunar and solar eclipse is considered highly dangerous, especially for the pregnant women. So, they must resist strongly the exposure of their bodies on those days.

(e) If an eagle sits on the top roof of the house, it conveys the message of some kind of disaster for the entire family.

(f) If you come back half way from a journey, it is highly undesirable to proceed again on the same journey and on the same day. If one does it, he has to face some serious problem.

(g) If a little baby born some days or weeks ago is exposed to an outsider, it will have negative effect on the growth of the personality [of the baby]. So, the concerned baby must not be exposed to an outsider even if he or she is a distant relative.

(h) If you encounter an ugly woman in the morning, you day will be spoiled.

(i) If something falls on your head and gives you the injury in the head, it conveys a dangerous message for all members of the family.

9. In this doctrine or folk based religious environment, all preferences in thinking and behaving become clear and clearly distinguish between sacred and profane things and ideas related to that. Our inquiry in the village in this regard revealed the following items being considered as 'sacred':

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[a] Quran sheriff

[b] Beard of a person

[c] Cap of the eldest member in the family

[d] *Peer* Saheb

[e] regard of the parents

[f] the village mosque and shrine

[g] marriage relationship.

On the other hand, the items being considered by the villagers as 'profane' included the following:

[a] Pigs

[b] Jetka meat

[c] Dis-honouring

[d] Marriage with sister

[e] Prostitution

[f] theft

[g] dishonesty

10. The celebration of festivals by the villagers compose an important and existing part of the religious life in Dardpora, as is the case in all other villages in the Kashmir valley. All villagers celebrate all festivals which are all religious-based and religious-oriented. Two sets of religious festivals can be distinguished in this village. The first set of festivals are universal festivals celebrated by all Muslims in the world such as two *Eids*. The second set of festivals are local festivals celebrated at the local shrine in the village. The celebration of *Eid-e-Ramazan* presupposes that an individual has kept *fast* for the whole month of *ramazan*.

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On the day of this *Eid*, called *Choti Eid* also, starts with the *Eid-Namaz* in a local or village mosque or in *Eid Gagh*. All family members, particularly the children, wear new clothes stitched for this day only. Special dishes all based on meat are prepared for this occasion. Children get *Eidi* from their parents, other family members and relatives. Visiting neighbours, friends and relatives on this day in a distinguishing feature of this day. Social interaction and social integration increases to the maximum extent. On the day of second *Eid*, called *Badi Eid and Bakre Eid*, has the same festivities for 2½ days. One distinctive feature of this Eid is that animals are slaughtered on this occasion to remember the sacrifice of the Prophet Abraham of his own son, Ismael (A.S), in the name of God and on the order of God Almighty.

The village Muslims also celebrate the night festivals of *Shab-i-Barat and Shab-i-Qadr*. On both these nights, the villagers pray for the whole night. While the former is considered the night in which the destiny of all living human beings is determined by God Almighty, the latter is remembered as the night in which the Quran was sent by God Almighty to Prophet Mohammad. (PBUH)

The local festivals are also celebrated more or less in the same way. The villagers pray at the concerned local shrine for the whole night. Many villagers visit the shrine during the day time and pray there. At homes, they prepare special dishes all based on meat. Children celebrate this occasion by wearing new clothes, visiting the shrine with their friends and purchase some toys there.

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Chapter 5

ECONOMIC OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. Agriculture:

This was the oldest and only occupation of dominant majority of people in Dardpora village. All family members, men, women and children, used to work in the fields. Since the entire village was situated on the hills, the only crop was maize. The agrarian situation in the village was characterized by *zaildari* and *jagirdari* which provided the ideal feudal situation. These feudal lords didn't work themselves on the agricultural land, but the peasants and landless labourers worked on the land on share-crop basis or on meager wages. In most of the cases, the landless labourers worked on land on wage basis and some of them had to go out of this village for the work. In this situation, the peasants and landless labourers were exploited by the landlords in the village.

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This situation prevailed in the village till 1953 when radical land reforms were introduced in the whole state of JK by the National Conference government headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. It is believed that these land reforms were implemented successfully. Like other villages in the Kashmir valley, Dardpora too implemented land reforms and, as a result, land was distributed among small and landless peasants. But, the effect of these reforms was not felt radically because of two important factors. First, this village was completely a hilly area which had less attraction than the plain area. Second, this hilly area did not produce much production.

At present, the maize is the sole crop in the village. The villagers who have not enough land sell the maize in the nearby market or exchange the maize with rice in the nearby villages. The rest of the villagers buy rice like they buy other things from the market. The government has opened a 'ration depot' [which supplies rice, flour, sugar, oil and other commodities of daily life] in the village, but [as per locals reports], it failed to supply all necessary items and in time, especially during the hard winter days.

2. Cattle-grazing:

In the cattle-grazing field, not much village manpower is involved. Only some labourers do this day-long work on whole-time basis. In many cases, the male children, even of lesser age group and elder males, perform this duty within and outside their village.

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3. Petty Occupations:

A significant proportion of the village population is involved in this field of occupational economic activity. It gives them comparatively significant income which they spent inside as well as outside their village for purchasing the items of basic needs of village life. Our investigation found the following occupational groups active in the villages:

[a] *Chaan* [Carpenters]
[b] *Desil* [Masons]
[c] Seche [Tailors]
[d] *Daeb* [Washermen]
[e] *Kander* [Bread maker]
[f] *Goor* [Milk seller]
[g] *Waen* [Grocers]
[h] *Malle* [Priestmen]

While some occupational men, and not women, do work within their village only, others do work inside as well as outside their village. Nearly all of them have inherited their occupations from their elders. So, they had not to undergo any formal training in their respective occupations. In this way, these occupations became 'family occupations'. In the broader functional framework, these occupations provide the basic sources needed for human survival in the village. Thus these specialized people get comparatively reasonable wages in the village.

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4. Unskilled Labour:

There is a huge number of male uneducated and unskilled labourers living in the village. Their number is increasing fast as the population in the village in general increases rapidly. It was reported that most of them are youngsters who have joined the labour market in the recent years. Though they usually prefer to work outside their village to get more wages, some times they work in their own village also.

5. Handicraft Workers-Artisans:

The village has a significant number of handicraft workers-artisans who are mostly women and children [even children of early age group, say 6 years and above] who work in their homes. In the existing pattern of work, the middleman, usually belonging to outside this village, gives them the raw material needed and get the work done within a predetermined time frame. He collects the work done by the artisans and workers at the pre-decided time and pay them the wages which are neither pre-fixed nor of any standard or criteria. In this situation, they get exploited at the hands of the middlemen. In some of the cases, the raw material is taken as well as sold by the males of the family. In other cases, these wages are not paid to the actual workers in the family. Children of different age groups have been engaged in thin work.

6. The village of Dardpora has a small number of people whose occupation is the government service.

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These educated members of the village community do serve in the JK government offices located inside and outside the village. They usually belong to the lower cadre employees. Only some of them belong to the middle or the upper cadre jobs. Their services are stable and give them a fixed amount after every month regularly. As a result, their living standard is not bad. They live a comfortable life in the village in comparison to other groups in the village.

7. In the preceding context of economic activities, there emerged the functionalist framework of occupations in Dardpora. Some of its main features are mentioned in the following table:

8. At this last stage, three points need explanation. First, a lot of occupational mobility has been experienced in the village in the post-independence period, especially after 1953. This mobility has led to the over-all social mobility in the village. In this process of social mobility, the occupational change has led to the adoption of government service and adoption of agriculture by the villagers after 1953; dropping of the cattle-grazing: rise in the petty occupations; increase in handicraft occupations and subsequent increase of income in the family; and rise of wage stability among the un-skilled labourers in the village. It was reported that, in the post-1953 environment, total absence/ abolition of the feudal aristocracy because of successful implementation of land reforms and free political environment and increasing political participation led the occupational mobility to its extreme.

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S.No.	Occupational activity related to	Estamted %of pop. involved in occupation	Manpower involved			Work done in /out	
			Men	Women	Child	Outside Village	Inside Village
1.	Agriculture	25%	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
2.	Cattle-grazing	06%	Y	N	Y	Y	X
3.	Petty Occupations	19%	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4.	Unskilled Labour H. Craft workers	20%	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
5.	Artisans	13%	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6.	Govt. Service	07%	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
7.	Other Occupation	10%	Y	Y	X	Y	X

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Second, a general trend of economic improvement in the village in 1953 era was noticeable starkly. It was followed by economic affluence to some in the village; the significant economic benefits were experienced by the masses in the village. Thus all members of the village community got benefited after 1953 and it also negated the age-old poverty in the village. The most important fact of the village life at present is that basic life needs of dominant majority of villagers have been fulfilled. It crudely reflects in the rising purchase power of different articles and commodities, which are easily available in the village shops. Our inquiry revealed that the following consumer items were available and consumed as well by the villagers in the normal situation:

FOOD ITEMS:

- ★ Rice
- ★ Wheat
- ★ Pulses
- ★ Flour
- ★ Chilly powder
- ★ Turmeric powder
- ★ Spices
- ★ Sugar
- ★ Salt
- ★ Oil
- ★ Tea salty

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- ★ Tea sweet
- ★ Biscuits
- ★ Eggs
- ★ Ghee
- ★ Butler
- ★ Cheese
- ★ Chips
- ★ Snacks
- ★ Milk
- ★ Curd
- ★ Creams
- ★ Onions
- ★ Potatoes
- ★ Milk powder
- ★ Tomatoes
- ★ Apples
- ★ Bananas
- ★ Oranges
- ★ Soaps
- ★ Shampoos
- ★ Hair dye
- ★ Hair oil
- ★ Tooth brush
- ★ Tooth paste
- ★ Tooth powder
- ★ Tongue cleaner

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- ★ Heena
- ★ Face cream
- ★ Cold cream
- ★ Neil cutter
- ★ Blades
- ★ Shaving cream
- ★ Shaving machine
- ★ Shaving brush
- ★ Scissors
- ★ Combs
- ★ Mirror
- ★ Lip stik
- ★ Kajal
- ★ Eye-brow
- ★ pencil
- ★ Hair drier
- ★ Bleach
- ★ Neil polish
- ★ Boot polish
- ★ Perfumes
- ★ Coco cola
- ★ Pepsi
- ★ Miranda
- ★ Thums up
- ★ 7 up
- ★ Limca

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- ★ glucose
- ★ power
- ★ bornvitea powder
- ★ toys
- ★ balls
- ★ bulbs
- ★ table lamps
- ★ school bags
- ★ note books
- ★ pens
- ★ pencils
- ★ books
- ★ comics
- ★ note books
- ★ dairies
- ★ frooti
- ★ slice
- ★ bread
- ★ local bread
- ★ pens
- ★ geometry box
- ★ sketch pens
- ★ clothes
- ★ scarf
- ★ caps
- ★ under wears

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- ★ under shirts
- ★ Tshirts
- ★ blous
- ★ panties
- ★ duppattas
- ★ sweters
- ★ blankets
- ★ pillows
- ★ rings
- ★ bangles
- ★ necklace
- ★ bracelets
- ★ nose rings
- ★ chains
- ★ *payel*
- ★ *parandas*
- ★ medicines
- ★ crocin
- ★ cigarettes
- ★ tabaco
- ★ shoes
- ★ chaples
- ★ lamps
- ★ bats
- ★ elastics
- ★ needles
- ★ threads

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- ★ zips
- ★ buttons
- ★ shirts
- ★ pherons
- ★ paper
- ★ video games
- ★ cassettes
- ★ transistors
- ★ cells
- ★ books
- ★ clocks
- ★ watches
- ★ registers
- ★ bed sheets
- ★ pillows
- ★ match boxes
- ★ candles
- ★ wire

Third, it was observed that the Kashmiri community has accumulated more economic benefits than their counterparts in the *Gujjar-Pahadi* community. The higher literacy rate, political dominance, cultural exposure, population dominance and many such factors has led to this situation.

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Chapter 6

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

1. FAMILY:

It was reported that the main structure of family in Dardpora was of two types. Majority of the households had joint family structure wherein three or more than three generations [i.e. grand parents, patents, married and unmarried children, and so on] lived together. On the other hand, minority of the households had nuclear family structure wherein two generations of parents and their unmarried children lived together. An informal estimate by investigators revealed that while joint families compose about 65 per cent of the total families in the village, 35 per cent of the total families in the village were of nuclear family type. It was observed in the village that there is a continuous cycle of change which affects the structure of families. It follows that a nuclear family unit starts functioning

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- ★ zips
- ★ buttons
- ★ shirts
- ★ pherons
- ★ paper
- ★ video games
- ★ cassettes
- ★ transistors
- ★ cells
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in society. Over a period of time, the marriages and subsequent birth of children expands the structure of this unit. In this process, it becomes a joint family unit. Further addition of members in this unit leads to its division in several nuclear units. But, in the process, these nuclear unit/s again become joint family unit/s. Thus this process of change is repeated continuously. Dardpora has also undergone this form of transformation.

The villagers, especially youngsters living in nuclear family units, present a few points of logic for this change. First, since a dominant majority of people in the village have smaller plots of land and it cannot feed all members in the joint family, they leave this unit and go in search of alternative resources. Second, it is explained in terms of following the tradition. Since their parents have done it in the past, they just repeat the same. They feel that this change is highly desirable. Third, the youngsters consider the nuclear family as autonomous comparatively and have no direct control of elders. So, they have developed liking for this unit. Moreover, they feel that they generally get the share from the parental property at the time of establishing the nuclear family unit.

However, it was observed in the village that relations between children and married children have not changed drastically. It follows that the youngsters generally maintain traditional relations with their elders, though not in an ideal form, even after marriage and subsequent establishment of the nuclear family unit.

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In other words, youth still follow and maintain traditional patriarchal authority of all elder members of respective joint family units. In actuality, most of these youngsters live in the vicinity, i.e. in the same village or in the near-by village. They often visit their parents. They respect their elders, maintain bi-lateral contact with them, attend all family functions, visit them on Eid festivals and on many other occasions. Thus the patriarchal authority of eldest members of the family or a clan has not been disturbed much.

NAMES OF SOME FAMILIES AND CLANS IN DARDPORA

1. Khatana
2. Paswal
3. Aswan
4. Seyal
5. Kandal
6. Dohi
7. Bujard
8. Jeedad
9. Koshi
10. Sangoo
11. Faamda
12. Tanch
13. Deedad
14. Kattaria

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15. Khawja
16. Mir
17. Lone
18. Bhat
19. Syeed
20. Khan
21. Sheikh
22. Dar
23. Wani
24. Paul
25. Kumar
26. Hajam
27. Peerzada
28. Beigh
29. Parry

2. MARRIAGE:

It was observed that the practice of monogamy [according to which one male marries one female through out the life] is widely practiced in Dardpora. Dominant majority [even up to 92 percent] of villagers follow this practice strictly. Though Islam, the sole religion believed and practiced in Dardpora, has permitted marriage of a Muslim male with more than one female, if he can do justice between them and can afford economically, the practice of polygamy has become negligible. The main reason for this situation

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presented by the villagers is hard economic conditions and little agricultural land available to them.

On the other hand, a negligible minority of villagers practise polygamy which represents the exceptional pattern of marriage, while as the monogamous marriage represents the general pattern. The available cases of polygamy in the village reveals that, in all such cases, a Muslim male has married two females and live them in the joint family. However, the case of a male marrying three or four female is rare and one has to search hard for this couple. The main reason for the polygamous type of marriage was the need of children in the family which the first wife could not fulfill and could not have fulfilled in future too. The other reason for this type of marriage, according to the villagers, was affluence. It follows that rich people who have a lot of wealth and have huge amount of land could afford this type of marriage.

It was also found that generally people in all communities in the village practice endogamy, i.e. they marry within their own family, clan, class, caste and community. In this regard, the more common practice of marriage in the village was the cross-cousin marriage, in which the first son and daughter of two brothers married. Other features of this type of marriage was that people in general were oriented to marry their children, especially their daughters, within their own village. This was done with the idea that their daughters will remain in their own village even after their marriage. Another feature of this type of marriage was

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occupational/caste endogamy. While the former emphasized the marriage within their own occupational community, the latter meant the marriage within their own caste/community.

In this situation, the practice of exogamy, which refers to the practice of marriage outside one's own caste, family, clan, occupation or village, was highly discouraged till some decades back. But, it was conveyed that this practice was neither discouraged nor disallowed now in the village. Nowadays, the villagers in general seem very liberal in this regard. In totality, we may assume that while the practice of endogamy in the village is decreasing fast, the practice of exogamy in the village is increasing fast.

All marriages in the village are characterized with the feature of patri-locality. It means that the bride after her marriage goes to the residence of the bridegroom and settle there permanently after performing certain rituals, ceremonies and practices. This goes in consonance with the inheritance rights of the male child [which is double than the share of female child] in the village. The matri-local marriages are not in vogue in the village.

Though the broader and general marriage practices among Kashmiri, *Gujjar* and *Pahadi* communities are name, some differences prevail among them. In the following explanation of marriage practices in Dardpora, these aspects will be clear. The marriage process in the village starts with the contact of the families of the boy and the girl. The criteria for a good

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girl includes her originality in descent, submissive in character, and chastity-modesty in the character. On the other hand, the desirable traits for a boy include the image/status of his family, earning hand, education [even if less] and good character. Both the sides put forth these features in the marriage market through their near relatives or the medirary. Age is given lesser consideration, especially when the boy and girl are uneducated. In this situation, child marriage emerges as a strong trend. This happens more among *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* and less among the Kashmiris. After getting convinced about some basic facts related to the boy and girl, engagement between them takes place. This engagement is based on verbal approval and mutual consensus on certain matters related to the marriage. All these things are done by the parents or elders, especially the near relatives, of both sides.

After a brief stop-gap, both sides exchange gifts on the occasion of *Eids*, festivals and on some special occasions. This period is followed by performing *Nikah*, an agreement between the boy and the girl about their relationship in future, which is signed in the open and Mahr is paid by the groom to the bride in front of all people. Then both of them sign the document and consequently enter in to a sacred agreement. Some villagers, especially among the Kashmiris, also pay the dowry to the groom and his family. The *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* don't pay the dowry because they cannot afford to give such things to the groom and his family. In fact, they give to their girls some domestic/household items which are not costly. Subsequently, and in all cases, the

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bride goes to the groom's house after marriage and live there permanently.

It was reported that the post-marital life remains more stable among the Kashmiris in comparison to the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* in the village. Therefore, the possibility of divorce remains high among the *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* than among the Kashmiris. It was found in the village that remarriage of the divorcees and widows is easy and common.

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Chapter 7

MAJOR ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

1. Caste and Class:

The nature of social life is, in addition to other factors, contributed by the crucial role of class and caste. More or less the same situation prevailed in Dardpora. An inquiry about the nature and role of class and caste was felt necessary. It was observed that the villagers explain class in terms of an 'economic category'. People in general felt that two main classes exist in the village. *These are Amir* and *Gharib*. While the *amir* [rich] individuals and families have more wealth than their needs, the *garib* [poor] individuals and families cannot fulfill their basic needs of human life. According to the locals, the whole world is divided in to two main classes which are rich and poor. While the rich are less in number, the poor represent the mass of people. The

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former has remained dominant in all fields of life and the latter has been dominated, ruled and exploited throughout.

Our inquiry in the village revealed three-tier class structure. First, the upper class which composed of the rich families in the village. Second, the middle class which is composed of government employees, small businessmen and so on. Third, the lower class is composed of skilled-unskilled labour, agricultural and other occupational workers, peasants and so on. While the upper class in the village is not so visible, the middle class is comparatively visible. Since occupational and social mobility in the village is increasing, it emerges very fast. On the contrary, the lower class is more visible and dominates the population in the village. Taking in to consideration the visibility criteria, it may be argued that there exist two classes only, i.e. the middle class and the lower class.

It was found in the village that caste exists side by side with class. This may seem contradictory but is complementary in actuality. However, the caste in the village is completely different from the Hindu caste system. Keeping in view the similarities and dissimilarities between these two institutions, these cannot be equated. It was observed in the village that the prominent castes among three main communities were as follows;

[a] Castes in the Kashmiri community

- Peer .....
- Meer .....

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- Lone .....
- Sheikh .....
- Paul .....
- Wani .....

[b] Castes in the *Pahadi* community

- Khan .....
- Khuja .....
- Butt .....
- Mir .....
- Lone .....
- Syed .....

[c] Castes in the *Gujjar* community

- Khatana .....
- Puswal .....
- Sayal .....
- Aawan .....
- Kundal .....
- Deedad .....
- Kataria .....

In practice, these castes have proved functional in the village. While these castes play important role in the marriage practice of endogamy, it determines the individual and family status in the social hierarchy.

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Since all villagers remain conscious about their caste/s, these determine their nature of interaction with others.

There is also the community feeling prevalent in the village. In this context, it was reported that the Kashmiris regard themselves superior from the other two communities. Again, the *Pahadis* consider themselves superior from the *Gujjars*. But, at the same lime, the *Gujjars* consider the *Pahadis* as inferior to themselves.

2. Men-Women Activities:

In the tradition-ridden society of Dardpora village, the men-women activities have two crucial features. First, there exists a set pattern of men-women activities, which is wholly based on tradition. In actuality, it stands as a kind of unwritten and informal division of labour between male and female sexes. This pattern of activities is a part of traditional-cultural ethos that is transmitted from generation to generation through the process of socialization. Thus these activities are pre-determined and exist at the ideational level among both sexes. An inquiry in the village revealed that both male and female sexes there are conscious about their respective social activities. So, every individual in the village, who has come up to the maturity level, wants to follow these activities in their respective fields. A list of some main social activities of men and women separately, upheld by all villagers, was conveyed to us and its details follow:

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Female Activities		Male Activities
- All domestic works	-	all non-domestic works
- work on the agricultural field	-	main works on the agricultural field
- cooking foods at home	-	shopping for all family members
- total care of children	-	working for earning money
- collecting wood from forests	-	all major decisions in the family
- care of domestic animals	-	all occupational activities
- handicraft works	-	handicraft works
- visiting relatives	-	visiting relatives
- preparing food for all f. members	-	grazing animals

It may be argued that, in the context of above-mentioned sex-based division of labour, there exists a pre-determined traditional framework in which women carry out works within the family and men perform the out-family activities.

Second, the above-mentioned social activities of males as well as of females are ideal-typical nature. But, in practice, certain deeper and wider changes have been experienced in the village in the past few decades, particularly after 1947. As a result, a serious and significant degree of deviation from these pre-determined social activities was observed in the village. Now some traditional activities of women are performed by men or by both sexes. Similarly, some traditional activities of men are now performed by women or by both sexes. On the whole, the traditional

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framework of men-women social activities still exists but not followed completely. Thus women in the village perform some non-domestic activities and men too take care of some domestic works. In actuality, most of the social activities in the village in the present-day situation performed by both sexes. This kind of change is increasing and its direction is clear. In this situation, the age-old practices of gender discrimination have been reduced considerably and there is a lot of evidence in the village to support this statement.

2. Gender Discrimination:

It was generally observed in the village that the practices related to the gender discrimination does not exist at present in its extreme form. The observations made in the previous sections confirm this statement. Even if it exists, it is neither complete nor increasing. In the existing situation, women in huge numbers and from all groups, classes and communities in the village pursue modern education. They do not face any serious hurdle or problem in this process. Women also join governmental or non-governmental jobs if they get. In this regard, parents put no restriction on them. In reality it was found that every girl who completes and qualifies the Matriculation examination aspires to get a government job and they get it in many cases. Moreover, it may be argued that the Muslim women in Dardpora village do not suffer in life situations as their sisters suffer in many states societies in the country. Comparatively, they don't live a tortuous and highly discriminated life.

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3. Keeping in view the traditional guest-host relationship, the interaction of the locals within themselves as well as with outsiders are *Jaan* [good]. The locals at their own level have intimate and friendly relations and they are very hospitable with outsiders and strangers. They visit their neighbours most often and help them at the time of need. Thus they have developed strong community consciousness and the degree of solidarity and social harmony stands quite high. At the same time, they usually show high regards to the outsiders and treat them as honourable guests and provide them all they need in the village.

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Chapter 8

EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

1. It was reported that the educational situation prevailing in Dardpora village is improving. But, all details in this regard are not available. The observations made in this section are based either on 2001 census reports or locals estimates and reports which arc mostly not written. According to the census reports of 2001, the literacy rate in the Kupwara district [in which falls Dardpora] was 40.80 per cent [53.55 percent males and 26.83 per cent females] in that year. We may infer that the literacy rate in this particular village must be around the same percentage. Thin was confirmed by the local estimates and local reports. Our investigators concluded that the literacy late for all in the villages can go up to 45 per cent. However, a few points need to be noted here. First, men are quite ahead of their women in the field of literacy, though this gap is getting

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reduced day by day. Second, the village has shown a significant degree of improvement in literacy in comparison lo the past situation. Third, the Kashmiri community in the village has gone quite ahead of two other communities of *Gujjars* and *Pahadis* in the same village. Fourth, in the present situation, many serious and long-term efforts at the governmental as well as non-governmental levels are carried out in the village.

2. It was observed that sufficient number of educational institutions from Nursery to higher secondary stage is functioning in the village and serve the cause of education there. As per reports of our investigators, 16 educational institutions were functioning in the village, the details of which follow:

S. No.	Level of the School	Co-Educational		Numer of schools	
		Yes	No	Govt.	Private
1.	Senior Secondary	02	.....	02	.....
2.	High School	01	02	01	01
3.	Middle School	02	03	02	03
4.	Primary School	03	....	02	01

Among the above-mentioned schools, 14 schools provide the secular education and are mostly co-educational, i.e., boys and girls study together. One school, called *Darul Uloom*, provides the religious education exclusively. The last one school is a Vocational Training Center established in the village by the Indian army and functions under its control.

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The investigators observation of the prevailing educational scene in the village revealed a significant degree of change there. First, a widespread consciousness about giving education to all children in the family was observed repeatedly among all groups, classes and communities, though in varying degrees. As a result of this development, more and more children go to schools in the village. Some parents who are poor are ready to pay for the education of their children.

Second, girls too come out at large and join the schools for getting education. Consequently, they compose a significant proportion of the total school going population. This clearly reflects in the increasing enrolments in schools in the village. Most important is the point that these girl children have the schools of their own and their parents' choice [uni-sex or multi-sex schools].

Third, more and more educational facilities are easily available to all children in the village. It was repotted there that a school within an area of one kilometer radius is available to the children in the village.

Fourth, however, a dangerous trend to the full education of children, especially girls, was found. It was the increasing drop-out rate of children at all stages of education. Both, boys [less] and girls [more] are taken out of their schools by their parents and engage them in domestic, occupational, handicraft and other works. In actuality, most of them join the child labour force

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inside or outside the village. Our investigators concluded that only about 40 per cent of the total children reach to the higher secondary level. It is because about 60 per cent children drop out of schools at different stages of education.

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Chapter 9

IMPACT OF MILITANCY IN THE VILLAGE

1. Wider and Deeper Impact:

It was observed that in Dardpora, like other villages in the whole of valley, suffered extremely in all fields of life mainly due to the militancy conditions in the last 16 years from 1989. It can be said that generally every individual and every family has suffered in the Kashmir valley in the past one and a half decade of conflict situation in terms of death of a person, injury of a person, missing of a person, disappearances of a person, disability of a person, torture of the youth, dishonour of an elder, molestation or/and rape of girls/women and imposing culture of humiliation through the practices of parades, crack-downs and search operations on the part of the Indian military-security forces. Though the occurrence and intensity of these actions has reduced considerably, these are still in

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operation. In addition to these practices, every group, class and community has suffered heavy material loss in terms of destruction of their residential houses, business establishments and household-business items/articles worth billions of rupees. There is sufficient evidence in this regard prevailing in the village. Most of these human and material losses have also been experienced in Dardpora because of its nearness to the LOC and activities of militants in this village. Many of these aspects of life are covered under the ethnographic studies. Here in this chapter, our attempt is to make a brief analysis of major fields of life which passed through the burnt of militancy and have ethnographic relevance. The views presented in this chapter were conveyed by the villagers and primarily represent 'their perception of their problems'.

2. Educational Situation:

Education in the village faced extreme level of deterioration in all related areas during the period of militancy. It was felt by the villagers that the supreme cause of educational development there was betrayed to the extent that one full generation, especially the girls, in the village could not be educated formally. The level of damage could be thought in the context in which even some school buildings in the village were burnt. Some of these buildings have not been constructed so far. While the educational loss in the village crudely reflected in significant decrease in the school enrolment at all levels and particularly in case of girls it also revealed in the heavy and increasing drop-out rate at

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levels of school education in the village. It was reported that the drop-out rates in the village were alarming and, as per some locals and local estimates had gone above 40 per cent among boys and above 50 per cent among girls. Similarly, local and unofficial estimates in the village revealed that enrolments in the local schools were all-time low. Moreover, not many parents living in the village look the big risk by sending their boys and girls to the schools outside the village mainly because of the prevailing conflict situation at that time. All these developments and their implications cumulatively contributed to the lowest literacy rates, especially among the girls of younger age group, in the village of Dardpora.

The conflict conditions created an educational environment in which neither teachers could maintain their commitment to the cause of education nor the students could pursue sincerely and regularly the required education. In reality, the ethics of education was violated by both, the teachers and students [and their parents]. While the continued incidents of violence and the consequent disturbances in and around the village led to the conduct of very less number of classes in the schools. This situation directly led to the worst-ever quality of education. More damaging was the effect on examinations which could neither be conducted fairly nor regularly. In fact, the confidentiality of these exams, and the results was an open question.

It seems important to note here that that worst condition of education in the village at that time does

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not exist now. The downfall of the militancy emerges as a significant factor for this. The day-by-day improving situation of education in the village can also be related to the role played by the governmental agencies and their functionaries.

3. Economic Conditions:

It was reported that the whole traditional framework of economic activities got disturbed with the initiation of militancy in the valley and in the village too. Subsequently, with the expansion and increasing intensity of the militant activities in the village, this framework was further disturbed, resulting in the increase in the economic and other problems of most of the villagers in Dardpora. It was partly because some youths in the village [who were the bread-earners in their families] joined the militant organizations, and partly because all villagers could not carry out their traditional economic activities inside and outside their village. In this situation, the only economic/ occupational activity which could be carried out was the handicraft works which could be done within their homes, especially by women and children. The villagers used to get the raw material for working on it from outside the village through the middlemen. This kind of arrangement of handicraft work increased the profit margin of the middleman [and of the wholesaler and exporter too], on the one hand, and decreased the wages of the artisans and workers on the other. Thus the degree of exploitation of the latter increased heavily during the period of militancy.

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In the preceding economic environment, neither any occupational activity could be carried out satisfactorily nor any economic loss could be avoided. Agriculture too remained static and younger manpower was not working on it. The net result of this situation was the creation of unemployment among youth in the village. When they could not find jobs for a long lime, a significant portion among them joined the militant organizations and fought against the Indian military and security forces in the areas around their village. However, in the recent years, this trend has changed partly because of the dominance of the Indian forces [which has erased even the presence of militants in the village] and partly because of the governmental efforts to engage the village youth in services and other productive areas or skills.

4. Physical and Mental Health Conditions:

A general trend of deterioration in the physical and mental health conditions was observed in the village in the past decade by the specialized doctors and other experts. All these professionals argued that no such trend was observed in the village before two decades. But, many dangerous diseases have emerged in the village during the last decade and they relate this phenomenon with the rise of militancy and its direct-indirect implications. The physical diseases identified by them are related to cardiology, neurology, pathology, handicappedness and disability.

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While these diseases have spread on unprecedented scale in the village, these [diseases] have made more victims among youths than among elders.

On the other hand, it was reported that many mental health problems too have arisen in the village on an unprecedented scale. It was argued that this has happened primarily due to militancy. Thus the cases of tension, anxiety, trauma and many other psychological diseases are found in large numbers in the village. The cases of mental depression are common there. As per an unofficial estimate, every third or fourth person in the village suffers from the mental depression. This also reflects in the increasing number of suicides in the village, which was almost free from suicide records only two decades back.

It seems important to mention here that though Dardpora faces physical and mental health problems in major section of its population and on unpredented scale, no proper medical care facilities are available in the village. It was conveyed that some medical facilities available in the village in the past were either destroyed or are not in functioning. The expert/specialty medical advice and treatment is also not available here. It was reported that if an individual complains about any physical or mental health problem seriously, he/she has to be taken to the district headquarters or to Srinagar directly for proper medical treatment.

5. Religion and Culture:

As mentioned earlier in this report, the religion in

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Dardpora, as in all parts of the Kashmir valley, has a distinctive folk character which has been developed over a period of thousands of years. With the initiation of militancy in the valley, a conscious effort was made to dominate or to ignore this folk character of religion here. This was done by the foreign militants, who were also called at that time "the guest militants", in an attempt to impose on the locals a 'religious-based non-plural culture'. But, after some time, this trend could not work in Kashmir and so got reversed. That situation directly led to revival of religion-based local cultural practices, which have been contributing for thousands of years to the 'plural religious ethos' and 'composite culture' in Kashmir.

Again at the initial stage of the militant movement in Kashmir, i.e. early 1990s, a conscious attempt was made on the part of non-local militants to impose their own cultural patterns on the local culture. In practice, one of the items in the list of several measures was the 'dress of the women'. Though it was not rejected forcefully at the initial stage, it got diluted and finally negated over a period of time and that also in a peaceful manner.

In relation to the fight against the modern-western culture, the militants, both internal as well as external, put a blanket ban on foreign [including Indian] television channels. This was done in the name of 'restoring morality' and 'stopping corruption'. But, they failed to convince the masses and thus T.V. culture got revived with more intensity and expansion.

Finally, it was observed that militants developed

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religious and political differences among themselves which, in most of the cases, led to the armed clashes between varying militant groups. This situation disintegrated and diluted the militants struggle. The conflict was so serious that some of the important militants got killed in inter-group rivalry and armed clashes. In these conditions, the local cultural practices got revived and all television channels got the local audience.

6. Social life:

The fact stands with a lot of evidence that the social life got disturbed in the Dardpora [and in all villages in Kashmir] mainly because of militancy. It is believed in the village that the traditional Kashmiri society, which existed before militancy started here, can not be revived again in its originality and completeness. The villagers at large upheld that this process was quite irreversible. That part or feature of culture which wan lost during militancy was lost for ever. It was also conveyed by the villagers that the rise of violent social milieu in Dardpora will determine the relations between individuals, families, groups, classes and communities in the near future. It will be very difficult to oppose this violent manifestation. In other words, the village society has lost the traditional non-violent culture and religion.

Keeping in view the role of violence in the village in future, it seems that no just and productive interaction between various cultural-religious groups and communities will take place. Continuity and

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consensus will be out of context ideals. The ideals of social harmony, social solidarity and social cooperation will lose their relevance to the composite village life. The most important social casualty in this tragic situation will be the Kashmir identity which will have uni-dimensional character rather than multidimensional character. Moreover, the institutional support to the ideas and ideals of the Composite Culture in Kashmir will reduce drastically.

7. Political Implications:

It was found in the village that its inhabitants developed realistic approach-understanding and pragmatic behaviour during the entire period of militancy. Their role in politics was very practical and they usually supported the political party which benefited them in practice. Thus their commitment was primarily and exclusively to the material help and benefit they got rather than to the political ideology. In their own saying, one has to go with the wind for safety and prosperity. This was taught to the villagers by their political leaders who exploited them in the entire post-1947 period. This political elite-mass situation was obvious in the local situation.

Dardpora village was considered as a place of National Conference and its candidate was elected as-MLA. This village always supported this political party and elected its candidate as MLA in the last election and for the present assembly. However, at the initiation of the militant movement in the valley, the villagers

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shifted their loyally to anti-India political and militant forces or to the pro-Pakistan elements. In reality, a large number of youths belonging to this village joined the militant movement and crossed to the PAK for training in arms and ammunition. After completing the training course, they were sent back to IAK where they fought against the Indian military and security forces. According to the local reports, hundreds of militants [and other civilians] were killed and many more injured in the violent clashes with the Indian forces in and around the village.

However, when the Indian security forces got upper hand in their fight against militants, the latter started going back and either fought against the security forces till death or surrendered before the forces. It was reported that huge majority of local militants present in the village were all killed one by one and foreign guest militants were massacred. It was conveyed in the village that some militants were used by the Indian security forces in their anti-insurgency operations. At present, there seems hardly any presence of the militants in the village.

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Chapter 10

PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter, the focus will be on a group of 32 households in Dardpora. These households have been identified by several non-governmental organizations and agencies. These male heads of the households were active militants in this and other villages. They all were killed by the Indian military and security forces in encounters, and rival militant group clashes during the last 12 years.

These households composed of 32 female headed households and 160 children @ 5 children per household as per an unofficial estimate made in the village. They live in different parts [mohallas] in the village and play different economic and occupational roles, some are different from their parental economic and occupational activities. It was observed that the family members, male or female, don't have permanent-

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regular income. The majority of children of these families do not go to the schools in the village. Most of them, both boys and girls, are engaged in child labour within and outside their families and placed in their own and other villages. These children include those of very tender age. The health conditions of these families, especially of children, women and elders, are not satisfactory at all. In actuality, all of them suffer in all fields of life and in totality. Their conditions may be characterized as that they don't live but survive. In essence, they represent a group which has suffered extremely.

In the last 16 years of militancy, these families have been provided financial, material and non-material help by their neighbours and close relatives on the one hand and by the local and non-local [i. e. national and international) NGOs on the other. It seems that this help could not fulfill all their basic needs of life. The stale government of Jammu and Kashmir has not helped them in a big way primarily because the male heads of their households were militants and were killed by the Indian military and security forces. So according to the logic of the state government, these households don't deserve the help on their part. Now, as a result of the pressure of some local NGOs, human rights activists and social organizations, the state government has provided some financial and non-financial help to these suffering families, but its amount was too meagre to fulfill their basic needs like food, shelter, clothes and schooling.

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It follows from the above that these 32 and other poor families in Dardpora need basic and immediate help at least in the following fields:

[a] permanent income for the family members

[b] primary-secondary education for all boys and girls

[c] to fulfill the basic need of food

[d] to construct a low cost house which will provide the shelter to the family members at least during the winter months

[e] to arrange minimum items for the marriage of girls in these families.

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Section B

Anthropological Survey of Sawalkote, Ramban Area

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FOREWORD

It is generally believed that development, which includes the establishment of infra- structure, is necessary for overall progress and welfare of the human society, especially living in the developing and under-developed countries. While it ensures decent life conditions of the people living in these countries, it also contributes to mobility in all fields of life. But, at the same time, it has been observed that development affects the entire non-material life of people. Though the people get direct as well as indirect benefits of development, they also suffer in the cultural, social, demographic, educational and other fields. This has been characterized as the "social and cultural cost of development". This is essentially in this type of thematic background that the study entitled *An Anthropological Survey of the Sawalkote Hydroelectric Project Area, 2002* was carried out.

I am highly thankful to the NORPLAN, Norway, especially to Dr. Stephen Sparkes [Senior Social Scientist], Jens Laugen [Social Sector Co-ordinator] and Anna Peletier-Jellema, for sponsoring the project. I feel equally thankful to Mr. M Aslam Khan, Chief Engineer [Rtd.] for helping us

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at all stages of the project. I must thank three Research Investigators [RIs], Dr. M A. Bhat, Dr. N. A. Kotey and Ms. Rehana Shafi, all belonging to the Department of Sociology, University of Kashrmir, Srinagar, who had to work in very difficult conditions. The help provided by Mr. Nisar H. Gilani [JK Revenue Service, Collector] in Ramban can never be forgotten. I thank him and his colleagues. My thanks also go to Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad, S.H.O. Ramban, who took care of the security of the RIs team. The help provided by my wife [Iffat] and daughter [Ambreen] can also not be forgotten. Last, but not the least, I feel grateful to all those people in Ramban town and in five other villages who trusted us and provided original correct and first-hand information we needed.

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LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

- A Hindu temple in Tangar
- A Gujjar family in Tangar
- A Muslim shrine of Sofi Baba Farid-ud-din in Ramban Town
- A Rugunath temple on the main road of Ramban Town
- A Hanumann temple in Metra village
- A Mosque with Madrasa in Ramban Town
- A Hindu Bridegroom in Metra: ready with Barat to leave for the Bride's house.
- Music and dance at the time of marriage: A necessary feature of the Hindu marriage in Metra
- A Gujjar girl taking water to her home in Damkund
- Women in Damkund taking firewood to their home
- Remains of a historical site in Tangar
- Children in a Government Primary School in Metra.

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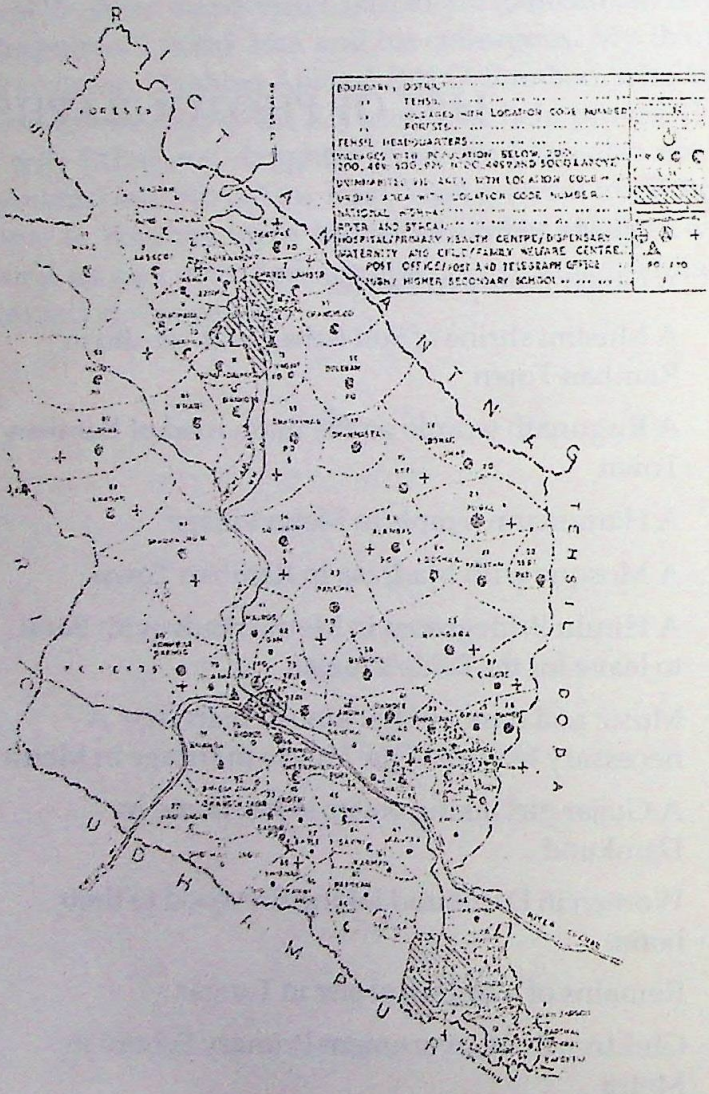
TEHSIL RAMBAN
DISTT. DODA



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METHODOLOGY

2.1. The fact stands that no official or unofficial study of the project area in the sociological or anthropological framework has been carried out so far. In reality, this area has still remained unexplored academically. No other published and research material about the social and cultural life of this area is available. The only exception can be with the irregular census records and R. P. Khatana's book entitled *Tribal Migration in Himalayan Frontiers [New Delhi,* 1992]. The former has no continuity and is generally considered unreliable. Thus it has lost the academic credibility. But, in the prevailing situation, we have no alternative except to depend on this census data. The latter stands as an empirical study of *Gujjars-Bakerwals* [GBs] and their pattern of migration in JK state. However, he has touched the project area because it falls partly within the migration routes of GBs.

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2.2 The most important methods used to get real and relevant information were the participant observation, in-depth interviews and direct observation. The simultaneous application of these methods was not practicable. In fact, the application of a particular method depended on the nature of existing situation in the field. The entire social-cultural life situation in Ramban town and five villages of Methra, Karol, Seri, Damkund and Tangar was observed through the participant observation which proved helpful in the field. The villages were selected on the basis of their representative character in the project area. Second, in-depth and informal interviews were conducted with the notables, resource persons, government officials, key informers and others [who had a lot of background information] including local guides, teachers, old inhabitants and most elderly persons in Ramban and five villages. Third, some crucial and relevant situations were observed by the team of RIs.

2.3. During the entire course of fieldwork, a flexible approach was adopted in the interviews as well as observation. Attempts were made to get the public-folk view/s of the ideas, issues and problems of the inhabitants in the area/s of study. Moreover, while gender-caste sensitive approach was adopted during the fieldwork, community-group considerations were also alive in order to get the correct information. More important is the fact that the relevant situation was analysed in the qualitative than quantitative framework.

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2.4. The fieldwork for this study was carried out in Ramban and five other villages by three qualified and trained RIs for two weeks during the period October-November 2002. In fact, they carried out fieldwork in other villages too. Some micro informal surveys were also carried out by them. Photo views of several crucial situations were also taken.

2.5. After gathering all necessary information, it was put in to perspective. In this way, we arrived at the propositions and the conclusion about this study. In this process, the emphasis was on qualitative than quantitative aspects of the social reality. The focus was not on data and figures, but these were used to develop a perspective for in-depth anthropological understanding.

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FINDINGS OF STUDY

3.1. AREA AND LOCATION

3.1.1. Territory and Location:

Ramban represents the tehsil-level unit in the Doda district of Jammu province of Jammu and Kashmir [JK] state in India. It is situated at the distance of about 150 kilo meters each from Jammu and Srinagar, winter and summer capitals [respectively] of the state. Its territory is very clear as shown in the enclosed map issued by the Census department of JK government, [see the map] Ramban's location has three important features. First, it is completely hilly area and has many small valleys. Though it has potential natural mountain beauty, it has not emerged as a tourist spot. Second, it is situated on both sides of the river *Chinab* and the inhabitants face positives and negatives of this river. Third, it is located on the famous Srinagar-Jammu na-

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tional highway which is considered the life-line of the town. It is because the highway has contributed to the processes of change and development of the area and economic and social mobility of its inhabitants.

3.1.2. Origin of the name:

There is no authentic opinion prevailing in Ramban about its origin. Nor is there any historical document available which tells about its origin. However, the inhabitants of this area maintain three distinctive views about the origin of this name. First, since the area was famous for killing the girls at the time of their birth, it was given its previous name *Nashbun* which means finishing in the jungle. Second, since Lord Ram stayed in the area for some time while going to or coming from Lanka, it was given this name afterwards. Third, in the dense forests of the area, there used to live a wolf type wild animal called *Rams*. It is from this name that the present name has been adopted in the past. Third view seems logical and convincing.

3.1.3. Demography:

The area has three types of population units. First, the far-off villages. Since there are no roads, these villages are inaccessible. The people there live a primitive life and are less exposed to the outside world. Second, the near-by villages. These are highly exposed villages because of nearness to the national highway and the town of Ramban. The inhabitants of these villages have undergone significant degree of economic and

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social mobility, though they maintain agriculture and its related life style. Third, the small town of Ramban which composes the largest concentration of local and migrant population in the *tehsil* [a sub-unit in a district]. In comparison to the villages, people in this town maintain minimum economic standard.

3.1.4. Recent growth:

The small town of Ramban has experienced significant growth in the recent past, in addition to the normal growth. This may be explained in terms of three factors. First, the *darbar move* [1] of JK government offices has contributed to the occupational mobility and economic change of the local inhabitants. Second, since JK is the border state in India, there remains heavy movement of army vehicles on the national highway. That too contributed to the economic betterment of the local inhabitants as well as of migrants. Third, the emergence and continuity of militancy in the JK state compelled many people, belonging to Hindu as well as Muslim communities, to go to Ramban and settle there temporarily. This all contributed to the phenomenal growth in Ramban and that reflects in the fast emergence of urban features and facilities there.

3.2. ETHNIC DIVERSITY.

3.2.1. Nature of Settlements:

The Ramban tehsil area is inhabited by people who live in the town [whose territory has been determined

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by the local Notified Area Committee-NAC] and in less than 100 villages. While Ramban is partly urban and partly rural, the villages have divided in to far-off villages and near-by villages. The agriculture is the dominant economy in both types of villages. While the former type of villages are in majority, not exposed to the outside world, not well connected through roads and transport, maintain primitive life-style and are economically under-developed, the latter type of villages maintain the opposite features. These multi-farious characteristics determine the pattern of settlements in the villages. Other factors which have direct effect on the nature and growth of settlement pattern in the area include ownership of land, level of agricultural development, existing economic activities and previous and recent migration to this area. Thus we see a close relationship between economic activities and nature of settlements in Ramban and five villages under study. It was observed that while agriculture solely dominates in maximum number of villages, non-agricultural activities [which revolve around small trade and business, labour and government service] dominate in Ramban town area and some of its near-by villages.

It was observed in Ramban town and five villages under study that all settlements there are multi-religious in character, as reflects in other parts of the JK state. The Muslims and Hindus live in joint settlements and live highly interactive and integrative life. In actuality, these settlements reflect the ethnic-plural character of society. The militancy has not been able to root out this basic feature of society here.

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In all these areas of study, various religious communities, particularly Muslims and Hindus, live side by side. Regular interaction between community members in all fields of life takes place normally. This interaction is characterized with functional inter-dependence, occupational integration and so on. in actuality, these communities are engaged in reciprocal relationship in many fields. The social life of these communities reveal more consensus and less conflict. Even in Ramban town, the competition does not lead to extreme conflict necessarily. Thus the religious, cultural and social life in the area/s of study reflect tolerance and accommodation of others. This situation also reveals the maintenance of ethnic plurality in the area. However, when tolerance and accommodation go, the situation like the one in Kashmir emerges. This situation may be explained by two sets of factors. One, in the ongoing competition and conflict, when certain groups and communities dominate, exploit, discriminate, humiliate and deny other groups and communities their due share in the processes of development. Two, in the under-developed context, when religion is used for non-religious purposes and objectives by political forces which include individuals, groups and political parties.

3.2.2. Population Composition:

As per the provisional figures of the census 2001 [released in 2002 by the concerned JK government office], the total population of the Ramban *tehsil* [N.A.C. area] in Doda district was 13,249 [8,391 males and 4,858

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females]. While the sex ratio was 875 females per 1,000 males, the literacy rate was 42.41 per cent [58.57 per cent males and 23.68 per cent females]. The number of child population [01-14 years of age] was 1,346 [733 males and 613 females]. No other information about the 2001 census has been released so far.[2] Though this information about population is very brief, we have no alternative in the present situation. It may be fruitful to have a comparative view of population figures of 1981 census [no census was carried out in JK in 1991] in JK which follow:

Total population	1,09,258	[58,525	Males &	50,733	females]
Total Urban pop.	6,529	[3,804	Males &	2,725	females]
Total Rural pop.	1,02,729	[54,721	Males &	48,008	females]
S. C. Population	5,586	[2,963	Males &	2,621	females]
No. of Households	16,979				
Density	483	persons per sq. km			
Sex ratio	637	per 1,000			
Literate population	17,434	[15,001	Males &	2,433	females]

We may get some ideas about the population composition in Ramban *tehsil* from the official figures about the proportion of Scheduled Castes [SCs], Scheduled Tribes [STs] and other relevant categories in Doda district. According to *Economic Review of District Doda, 1994-95*, officially prepared, there were 262,000 SCs, 67,369 STs, 54,119 *Gujjars*, 7,202 *Gaddies*, 3,856 *Bakerwals*, 1,751 *Bhots*, and 432 *Sippies* living in the district. A significant number/proportion of these people live in Ramban and surrounding villages.

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It may be interesting to present the population-figures about areas of study collected by our team of RIs. As per the survey of our team, there were 650 family households with each [household] having 5-6 members on an average in the N.A.C. It follows that area of Ramban *Khas* [Ramban proper] has a population of about 3,575 persons at present. While the Muslims compose of about 51 per cent of the total population, 49 per cent of the total population are Hindus. Two Sikh families were also residing in this area. It is important to note here that the changes in the population composition in this area [and in other villages too] has occurred mainly because of in-migration of Muslims and out-migration of Hindus.

In Metra village, there were 40 family households composing of about 225 persons. Muslims and Hindus with 60 per cent and 40 per cent respectively lived in the village. Muslims composed of a significant number of *Gujjars* some of whom are inhabitants in the village while others live the migratory life. In Karol village, there were about 50 family households having a population less than 300 persons. While Hindus constitute 80 per cent of the population, Muslims compose about 20 % of the population in this village. The Seri village comprised of two units. First, Seri which had 75 family households with 413 persons in total. Among these, while 63 family households with 346 persons were Muslims, 12 family households with 66 persons were Hindus. Second, Narshila Seri which composed of 20 family households with 110 persons, all Hindus.

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In Damkund village, there were 16 family households with 88 persons. While 55 % of them are Hindus, 45 % of them are Muslims. Moreover, there is a strong Indian military unit whose personnel adds to the total population in the village. Finally, in Tangar village, there were 130 family households with 715 persons in total. Here Muslims and Hindus lived in more or less in equal proportion.

Our team observed some features of population in the areas of study which are crucial to their qualitative understanding. Some of these features are: first, different groups, castes and communities in these areas/villages identified themselves [both males and females] primarily with their religion and ethnic origin. The locals revealed that this particularistic identification sharpens as well as intensifies day by day. This, according to the locals, has happened mainly because of militancy in JK; second, a significant degree of in-migration and out-migration has taken place in the last one decade. This will drastically affect the existing population composition in these areas. In actuality, this demographic change has already started; third, the population in these areas essentially represent ethnically mixed population. Three major ethnic groups, i.e. the *Kashmiris*, the *Dogras* and the *Rajputs* dominate the entire population scene. They can be further divided and sub-divided ethnically. The *Dogras* are considered the original people of this area. While they were Hindus in the past, many of them have converted to Islam about 300 years back. The Rajputs trace their origin to

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Rajasthan where from they migrated to this area. Similarly, the *GBs* have come to this area from outside around 900 A.D. From that time, they have developed and maintained the migratory life-pattern. They usually stay at a place temporarily and migrate to other place/s according to their needs. Many governments in JK started the process of sedentarization for them and provided them many facilities and benefits for them. While some of them sedentarized themselves and settled at a particular and fixed place, many of them could not part with this old practice.

3.2.3. Livelihood Systems:

In all areas of study, the livelihood systems are characterized with the dominance of agriculture except in a limited N.A.C. area of Ramban *Khas*. It has been reported that "the rural household economy consists of the production of agricultural and dairy products for household consumption. For poorer families, the pomegranate trees provide a substantial income. Animal husbandry is seen as a way to get cash to buy food, as agriculture yields produce only a 3-4 month self-sufficiency in food. *Ghee*, meat, wool; blankets, selling animals and resin tapping are major sources of income. In this economic situation, which prevails in its extreme form in Tangar and other villages, dominant majority of people live in miserable conditions. According to an estimate, close to 100% of the Tangar population and probably of other rural villages is classified as below poverty line which means an income of less than Rs. 500/- per month.

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In the preceding economic framework, exchange economic activities too are performed by the villagers. In this inter-village trade, certain essential things/commodities are exchanged with other essential things/commodities. The rules, measures and standards of the exchange are framed and maintained by the villagers themselves. These kinds of economic activities usually get disturbed by the annual and cyclical migration of the GBs. They hardly become the essential component part of the traditional economy in this area. However, it has been experienced that they improve their economic status due to migration.

On the other hand, the semi-urban roadside villages present completely a different picture. It has been reported that the living standard in these villages are higher. Several economic opportunities are available in such villages like Seri, Metra and Damkund. The people in these villages are not dependent on agriculture and livestock. They produce vegetables and fruits and sell in the nearby market. Their involvement in trading and other market activities is much larger. Moreover, some of them work in local govt. offices.

Regarding the specific cases in our study, the RIs team observed as follows:

[i] Ramban *Khas:* In this area, people lived by agriculture, business, service and labour. The business in the town area is in the hands of migrants, both was alive, its hierarchical order was absent. In this situation, the

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castes functioned like groups and became the base for the formation of "Caste/Village *Panchayat*" in many villages.

On the other hand, the Muslims of the Sunni sect [4] are spread in all villages. It was observed that all Muslim castes [5] are present in the areas of study. But, these lack most of the features of Hindu caste and function more like a *biradari* or a social group some times called a *quom* [an occupational community]. In this situation, the hierarchical order is established on the basis of social, economic, educational, cultural, political, historical and other relevant factors.

It is important to note here that, realistically speaking, Muslims and Hindus of this area are divided on economic basis. It follows that people can be divided on the basis of land ownership. Accordingly, there exist three groups/classes. First, those who own largest amount of land. Second, those who own limited amount of land and use it for their livelihood. Third, those who are land-less and skill-less. While the first and second groups/classes are engaged in agriculture, trade and business, the third group/class do manual and unskilled labour. This goes in consonance with the characterization of social groups in this area done by Khatana. [6] The hierarchical arrangement of various groups is also determined in consideration of their ethnicity, caste/social status and family belonging. This clearly reflects in the formation and role of the caste/village *panchayats* in different villages.

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Though the *panchayats* in this area are not exclusively religion-based, the community-wise population proportion reflects in their formation and election. It was observed that the population proportion necessarily reflected in the formation of *panchayats* in the Jammu region. This micro study revealed that this important institution was highly male-dominated and was not functionally effective. In many cases, militancy situation have made this institution nonfunctional. [7] Though the state government conducted elections for *panchayats* in the entire Jammu region in the year 2000, no radical change could be brought in the villages.

3.2.5. Access to Political Power:

In the above-mentioned hierarchical framework, the position of a particular caste/group determines the nature and extent of access to political power inside and outside the villages. This applies to both- Muslims and Hindus- communities in the area. This also reflects in the functioning of the 'Caste *Panchayats*' and 'Village *Panchayats*'. These *panchayats* deal with all matters of the life of villagers and the *Nambardar*, whose position is hereditary, emerges the sole unofficial arbitrator in the villages. Since he gives the final decision in all matters related to the village life, he decides the contact or access with the inside as well as outside political forces, political parties and political issues and problems. In actuality, it means that the political power is retained by the upper castes [in the case of Hindus] and higher groups/classes [in the case of Hindus and Muslims]. At the top, these castes, groups and classes share the

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power position for their political gains. This power position is accepted, confirmed and legitimized by the outside political forces/parties/leaders. This political relationship is actively supported by the bureaucracy and the government. This relationship is awarded stability by political leaders at the block, district, provincial, state and even at national level. The Member of Legislative Assembly [MLA] of this area get elected essentially in this political environment, which develops relative political culture through the processes of political socialization at the local level. In this situation, the religious affiliation of the major political actor/s is actively supported by cultural, social, economic, linguistic and other factors.

3.2.6. Status and Economic Roles in Communities:

As explained above, two major religious communities live in the area of study. These communities are not homogenous but heterogeneous in many ways and these can be divided in terms of castes, groups and classes. People of both communities live in 5 concerned villages and are engaged mainly in agriculture. Thus the economic status of people here is not equal. Some have more land and resources than their needs, while others have less land and resources than their needs. Thus some *Rajput* and *Gujjar* families have more land than other families. Consequently, while the former have more active economic, political and social role, the latter have passive or lesser role. In this agrarian context, both Muslims and Hindus own land, though

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not equally. In fact, this situation has to be seen in the background of radical land reforms introduced as well as implemented successfully by the National Conference [N.C.] governments in JK in and after 1952. It may not be out of place to mention here that the JK is one of the states in India where land reforms have been made successful completely.

On the other hand, people in Ramban are engaged in non-agricultural activities. They own many resources and have comparatively more income. Even market competition and conflict does not reduce their higher status and active role. Their role becomes crucial because of their nearness and accessibility to the power holders. It follows that some individuals, families and groups in both sectors of economy play a crucial economic role in the areas of study.

3.2.7. The Dominant Group in the Area as a Whole:

In the preceding thematic framework, it seems difficult to identify a single dominant group in the area a whole. However, from the preceding discussion and our observation in the field, it may be assumed that some people from the upper castes [such as *Rajputs]* and higher groups [such as *Gujjars]* form the dominant group in the area. This limited group stands multi-religious in character and individuals in it identify themselves with their respective language, caste, and so on. Thus the roots of dominance of this group lie in economic, religious, political, social and linguistic factors.

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3.2.8. Who Dominates within each Group:

It may be argued that some leaders dominate at the group level and at the village level. It has been observed that though competition and conflict prevail within and between groups, political leaders emerge in continuity. Among the Muslims, the *Gujjar* notables and some prominent families, enjoying the hereditory status, dominate the group. Among the Hindus, the *Rajputs* as a csste may emerge as a dominant. But, at the village level, some individuals or a family may get the political dominance because of its own multi-farious support base and others support too. This is what we observed in the 5 villages and Ramban area.

Previously, the *Gujjar* elite, composing of the feudal element, got the political support of upper castes and higher groups. This support was reciprocated by the *Gujjar* group in order to maintain the stable political relationship. This political environment helped positively in the election of MLAs and other political representatives from this area. Thus the *Gujjars* dominated and that was possible with others support. In the Ramban area, the political representatives, especially the MLAs and ruling party's functionaries, got elected/selected with the active support of others. It follows that the dominance of a particular group or family could be maintained and continued only when this support was reciprocated well. Finally, it may be argued that though the access to political power is open to all, but it was retained by the upper castes and higher groups.

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3.2.9. The *Gujjars* and *Bakerwals* [GBs]

Compose one distinctive group in the area. Their distinction lies in their language, culture, migratory-life-style, religious practices and economic and social practices. It is believed that they came here from outside hundreds years back and settled here. They live in the mountains temporarily and migrate from place to place. In the recent past, some of them have settled in the plains. This was mainly because the government provided them the facilities necessary for the sedentarized life.

The GBs in the JK state are Muslims. But outside JK, they are usually Hindus. All of them are Sunni Muslims and belong to Hanafi school of thought. However, their religious practices are similar as well as dissimilar with the Muslims of the Kashmir valley.

3.3. DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

3.3.1. Differences in Languages:

Our study revealed that the following languages and dialects were in used in the areas of study:

[i] Ramban:

[a] Urdu

[b] Hindi

[c] Dogri

[d] Kashmiri

[e] Kashtewahi-Baderwahi

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[f] Gojri

[g] Panjabi

[h] Pahadi

[i] Zardari

[j] English

[k] Siraji Basha

[l] Pogli

[ii] Karol:

[a] Urdu

[b] Hindi

[c] Siraji Basha

[iii] Metra:

[a] Urdu

[b] Hindi

[c] Kashmiri

[d] Gojiri

[iv] Seri:

[a] Dogri

[b] Kashmiri

[c] Urdu

[d] Zardari

[e] Hindi

[v] Damkund:

[a] Pahadi

[b] Panjabi

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[c] Hindi

[d] Urdu

[e] Kashmiri

vi] Tangar:

[a] Pahadi

[b] Urdu

3.3.2. Differences in Languages:

The languages used in the areas of study have different scripts. While English has the Roman script, *Kashmiri, Urdu, Gojri,* and *Pahadi have* the Arabic-Persian script. Rest of the languages, i.e. *Hindi, Dogri,* and *Panjabi* have *Devnagari* script. All other languages are spoken languages. *Urdu* is the official language in the JK state and is the medium of instruction in government and private schools along with *Hindi, Kashmiri* and *Dogri.* English is also taught in the schools.

3.3.3. Common Languages used between Groups:

Our study revealed that, in Ramban, while the Muslims speak *Urdu, Kashmiri, Gogri, Pogli, Pahadi;* and *Dogri.*, the Hindus generally speak *Dogri, Hindi* and *Panjabi.* In Karol, the language spoken by the dominant majority of inhabitants is *Siraji Basha* which traces its origin to the *Sanskrit* language. The main language spoken by Hindus as well as by Muslim in Metra village is *Dogri.* About 10 per cent of the Muslims living in the village speak *Kashmiri* and *Gogri.* In both parts of the Seri village, *Dogri* is spoken by the Muslim inhabitants.

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A small proportion of the Muslim migrants speak *Kashmiri*. In the Narshela area of the village, the people speak *Dogri* and *Zurdari*. In Damkund village, the majority of the people speak *Pahadi, Urdu* among Muslims and *Hindi* among Hindus are the supportive languages for the people. *Panjabi* is also in vogue because of the army presence there. Finally, the main language spoken in Tangar village is *Pahadi*.

3.3.4. Trends of Change in Languages among last 3-4 Generations:

It was observed in Ramban town and 5 villages that the most common trend of change in the usage of language/s is that people at large adopt *Hindi* and *Urdu* languages and use as less as possible the local languages. They prefer to talk with their children and others in these languages which stand as official languages at the national level and the state level respectively. The rationale they provide for this change is that their children can perform better in schools at present if they adopt these languages. Moreover, the *Hindi* language will prove highly beneficial to them in future. This response was shown mainly by the literate and semi-literate groups of population. While some illiterate sections also conveyed these views, majority of them use/adopt *Kashmiri* or *Dogri* languages. In this situation, the local languages and dialects are shrinking and losing their relevance in the changing environment. It is important to note here that the change in languages has a communal dimension. It means that while the Hindus prefer to adopt the Hindi language, the Muslims prefer to adopt the *Urdu* language.

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3.3.5. Word List of the Languages in the Region:

The word list of different languages used in the areas of study are as follows:

[i] Urdu:

Word	Meaning	Script	Used in Ramban / Villages
Awaz	*Voice*		
Umur	*age*		*all*
Khaber	*news*		*all*
Aadmi	*man*		*all*
Nafah	*profit*		*all*
Rasta	*road*		*all*
Samaan	*things*		*all*
Aastnaan	*sky*		*all*
Aasaan	*easy*		*all*
Zameen	*earth*		*all*
Khuda	*God*		*all*
Phool	*flower*		*all*
Shaher	*City*		*all*
Gawoon	*village*		*all*
Mushhoor	*famous*		*all*
[ii] Hindi:			
Umbbar	*sky*		
Samachar	*news*		*all*
Pitaji	*father*		*all*
Pati	*husband*		*all*
Pateni	*wife*		*all*

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Samie	*time*	*all*
Pustak	*book*	*all*
Ghumbeer	*difficult*	*all*
Patterkaar	*Journalist*	*all*
Vibagh	*department*	*all*
Soochina	*information*	*all*
Mantry	*minister*	*all*
Guyaan	*Knowledge*	*all*
Adeapak	*teacher*	*all*
Chatter	*student*	*all*

[iii] Kashmiri:

Moal	*father*	*all*
Moaz	*mother*	*all*
Bene	*sister*	*all*
Booie	*brother*	*all*
Lookh	*people*	*all*
Zabaan	*tongue*	*all*
Lotelote	*slowly*	*all*
Sheen	*snow*	*all*
Ghere	*home*	*all*
Soen	*in-laws*	*all*
Waze	*cook*	*all*
Pash	*roof*	*all*
Kraal	*potter*	*all*

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Warey	*year*	*all*
Koor	*girl*	*all*

[iv] Gogri/Pahadi:

Pahadan	*mountains*	*all*
Amma	*mother*	*all*
Baap	*father*	*all*
Bhai	*brother*	*all*
Bivi	*wife*	*all*
Ludka	*son*	*all*
Ludki	*Daughter*	*all*
Shadi	*marriage*	*all*
Zyadeh	*extra*	*all*
Bukri	*goat*	*all*
Joota	*shoe*	*all*
Kheema	*tent*	*all*
Muzoer	*labour*	*all*
Insaaf	*justice*	*an*
Rasta	*road*	*all*

[v] Panjabi:

Kudi	*girl*	*R.*
Tusi	*your*	*R.*
Gaya	*gone*	*R.*
Nawan	*new*	*R.*
Gul	*talk*	*R.*

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Munda	*boy*		*R.*
Rubb	*god*		*R.*
Prem	*love*		*R.*

[VI] Dogri:

Kinay	*how many*	-	*R*
Kuthay	*where*	-	*R*
Pind	*small village*	-	*R*
Tues	*you*	-	*R*
Peuo	*father*	-	*R*
Munda	*boy*	-	*R*
Couldhi	*girl*	-	*R*
Koul	*with*	-	*R*
Touday	*your*	-	*R*
Tray	*three*	-	*R*
Gal	*talk*	-	*R*
Sadahay	*our*	-	*R*
Jeeley	*when*	-	*R*
Aahoo	*yes*	-	*R*
N/a	*no*	-	*R*

3.3.6. Common Words covering Kinship Relations:

The following table conveys common words in different languages regarding kinship relations:

Table No. 3.

Common Words in Different Languages

Theme/Pahadi Kin. Relation	Urdu	Hindi	Pogli	Siraji	Dogri	Zardari
Father Bapu	*Baap*	*Pita*	*Bab*	*Baba*	*Pou*	*Baba*
Mother Ama	*Maa*	*Maa*	*Ama*	*Ama*	*Mah*	*Ama*
Eld Brother Bahiya	*Bada Bhai*	*Bada Bhai*	*Bada Bayoo*	*Bra*	*Bra*	*Bau*
Eld. Sister Behun	*Badi Behun*	*Badi Behen*	*Dade*	*Bhand*	*Pana*	*Baybe*
Father-in-Law Soura	*Susur*	*Susur*	*Soura*	*Soura*	*Soura*	*Soura*
Mother-in-Law Shash	*Saas*	*Saas*	*Shash*	*Shash*	*Shash*	*Shash*
Groom Maharaz	*Dulha*	*Dulha*	*Mahraz*	*Lada*	*Lada*	*Lada*
Bride Mahrajni	*Dulhun*	*Dulhan*	*Mahrene*	*Ladi*	*Ladi*	*Ladi*

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The common words used in different languages in the region, related to food, include the following:

Word	**Meaning in English**
Khana	*eating*
Nashta	*break-fast*
Salan	*vegetable*
Roti	*bread*
Chawal	*rice*
Dal	*pulses*
Subzi	*vegetable*
Chai	*tea*
An da	*egg*
Masala	*spices*
Mirch	*chilly*

With regard to the landscape features, the following words are used

Pahad	*mountain*
Nadi	*stream*
Thund	*cold*
Phool	*flower*
Chinab	*name of the river in the area*
Militant	*militant*
Foug	*army*
mushqil	*difficult*
hotel	*hotel*
ganda [mahool]	*dirty environment*

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With regard to main verbs, the following words are used:

Khana	*eating*
Peena	*drinking*
Aana	*coming*
Jaana	*going*
Dodnaa	*running*
Dekhna	*seeing*
Rona	*weeping*
Hansena	*laughing*
Mama	*dying*
Likhna	*writing*

Finally, the common words used in the areas for domestic animals include the following:

Godda	*horse*
Gadda	*donkey*
Khachar	*mule*
Gaaie	*cow*
Baed	*sheep*
Bakri	*goat*
Bael	*ox*

3.4. RELIGIOUS LIFE:

3.4.1. Basic Religious Practices:

Since the area of study composes two main religious

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communities, Muslims and Hindus, this theme can be dealt in two sections. At the outset, it may be mentioned that basic religious practices among Muslims living in Ramban and surrounding villages are directly related to their belief system which is global in nature and implications. This system has not been changed wholly despite the strong impact of folk or traditional practices. It reveals certain basic beliefs which determine the series of religious practices. This type of relationship exists in the area of study, but the scope for deviation is still there. All Muslims in the area, belonging to the Sunni sect and Hanafi school of thought, [8] believe in the oneness of God and in the finality of the prophethood of Mohammad [PBUH]. This belief has strong social implications in terms of emergence of the doctrine of monotheism and consequent social formation and negation of the institution of priesthood between God and man. But, the social life of Muslims in the area does not reflect strong impact of these beliefs and doctrines.

Second, near total number of Muslims offer *namaz* in the mosques which have been built in every village they live. Though all Muslims pray daily, especially in the mornings and evenings, they are neither regular nor punctual in it. There is a *Jamia Mosque* in Ramban where all Muslims of the area pray on every Friday, Eeds and other religious occasions.

Third, it was observed that third fundamental/ pillar of Islam, i.e. fast during the holy month of *Ramadan,* is observed by all Muslim adult men and

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women.[9] Fourth, the fourth fundamental/pillar of Islam, i.e. paying *Zakat* to the poor and needy [10], does not apply to the Muslims here because an overwhelming majority of them live below the poverty line. However, some of the elite families in the area, which are supposed to pay the amount of *Zakat* to the poor and needy, do ignore it consciously or unconsciously. Fifth, though all Muslims in the area like to go for *Hajj* [11], but are not in a position to do that due to economic reason. However, some Muslims of the area belonging to the upper groups/classes have been going for *Hajj* every year. At the same time, Muslims from these well-off families do practice of *qurbani [12]* every year and distribute it among the family members, relatives and neighbours. It was observed that some Muslims in the area belonging to the middle income groups do also practice of *qurbani*. It is essentially in the context in the Ramban area in which this ritual act does not only represent a religious obligation but has emerged as a symbol of social status too.

In addition to these religious practices, there are other such practices in vogue in the area and are of anthropological importance. Some of these practices follow:

First, there exist mosques in every village but no *dargah/aasthan* [13] in the entire area. In this situation, there exist hardly any member or a group of *peers* [religious persons devoted to religious rituals/practices] who usually dominate and exploite the common and illiterate Muslims. Moreover, the priestly hierarchy in

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the Muslim society is negated in this situation. However, the fact stands that the common Muslims of this area do visit *darghas / aasthans* when they go out of this area, especially to the Kashmir valley.

Second, Muslims of this area do not represent the original inhabitants of this area. Though no historical records are available, they may have come here not as missionaries but as migrants and settled here in the recent past. This reveals in the nature and historicity of the religious life of the Muslims here.

Third, there exists some [though lesser] degree of similarity between Muslims and Hindus of this area. Thus some folk traditions, beliefs and legends are shared by both communities, though their implications are different for both. However, it was observed that there exists a lot of functional integration, occupational dependence, and concensus-oriented social ethos between the two religious communities in the area of study.

On the other hand, the basic religious practices among the Hindus of this area may be seen in the *varna-jati* framework. But, the strong limitation of the application of this framework to this area is the absence of all *varnas* and *jatis* here. How can we observe the role of caste/s when all [castes] are not living here. In this situation, the realistic approach may be to focus on the existing facts. It was observed that, in Ramban, Metra and Karol, women in general visit nearby temple for *puja*. Like mosques, every village has its own temple. At the

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same time, the elderly people do *puja* and recite *Geeta and Ramayan* [two most sacred books of the Hindu religion] in the temple. While others [men as well as women] do *puja* any time in the day or evening, others [who are very less in number] do it once a week. It was conveyed that, on special occasions like *Holi* and *Diwali*, special *pujas* are arranged in temples by the *Pandits* who get unusual amount of *Guru Dakshina* in terms of money, eatables and other things of domestic use. It was also revealed that, in Tanger, people in general do not do *puja* regularly. They are more serious about celebrating a day in a year, known as *Kode*, on which they play music with instruments, beat drums, dance for longer time, sacrifice a sheep in the temple and thus enjoy whole day and night.

It seems highly realistic and beneficial to focus on the religious practices on special occasions such as birth, death, marriage and healing.

[a] Birth:

Among the Hindus in general, the child is not exposed to the out-family members for a period not less than three weeks, i.e. 21 days. The practice is so strictly followed by all family members that the baby is not exposed even to the sun for this period. The belief is that if the child gets exposed to the outside world, it will certainly have harmful effect on his/her life. It was reported that some Muslim families in far off villages too follow this practice, though not strictly. Subsequently, two celebrations take place at two important

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occasions. First, at the time of birth celebration once or many times. Second, at the time of *mundan* [shaving head of the child for first time] ceremony at home or in the temple. This is done in the case of male babies only. Among the *Gupta* caste Hindus living in the area, they wear a thread around the neck of the child just after her/his birth. Later on, after some years, the thread is removed from neck of the child and is hanged on *amrood* tree [gauva] which must be with full and ripe fruit on its branches. The belief is that if the practice completes successfully, the child's life may rise in future like a fruitful tree.

Among the Muslims, the series of religious practices related to birth of a child start with reciting *azan* [the call for praying given five times a day from every mosque] in the ears of the child just after the birth. Like Hindus, they too hide the child from outsiders and outside world for 21 days. However, this practice is disappearing fast among them. Then follows the *mundan* [shaving the head of the baby for the time] ceremony of male as well as female babies. It is usually done at homes. It gets religious character if it is performed at some shrine outside the area or if a *peer saheb* is invited at home. Birth celebration once or many times of male and female babies is also in vogue. The important practice is related to séarching/selecting a name for the child immediately after his/her birth. It gets the religious character when the new name is searched from the *Quran,* the most sacred book of Islam. Another religious-oriented practice is the *Khutna* [circumcision]

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which every Muslim boy has to do necessarily. It was observed that the act of circumcision was performed with primitive methods in many villages, especially Tangar. This gives a lot of pain to the child.

[b] Death:

Among the Hindus, people believe religiously [and do it positively] that the dead body of the person concerned must be cremated by the family members on that very day before the sunset. This is to ensure the safe travel of the dead person in the process of re-incarnation.[14] Among different castes in general and *Rajputs* in particular, all male family members shave their heads at the time of death of a family member. If they don't do it, it is considered highly irreligious. All castes in the area mourn the death of their family members for 3 to 13 days. On the final day, the *Acharyaji* or the local *Pandit* [priest of the local temple] complete the mourning process by reciting *mantras* [religious sermons]. On this day, he is given money, gold, new bedding, and a cow. This is done in order to keep the *aatma* [spirit] of the deceased person. The *Acharyaji/Panditji* is given a cow again on the respective days after 6 months, after one year and four years. The clothes, bedding and other things of the deceased person are given to the out-castes, especially *Bhangis* [the lowest Hindu caste usually engaged in the occupation of cleaning and sweeping] . One more custom practised in the area is that family members of the deceased person do not sit or sleep on his *charpayee* [local-made wooden bed] for a

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period of one year. It was conveyed that family members of the deceased person do have one meal only for three days after the death of a member of the family.

The Muslims living in the area bury the dead body in the graveyard which are located in Ramban and in several villages. Before the dead body is buried by neighbours, relatives and others, a *namaz-e-jinaza* [a particular prayer which is offered to every Muslim's dead body before its burial.] is performed in the leadership of the *Molvi* [a religious person having formal religious education] of the same village or of the mosque. More crucial practice among the local Muslims is that the dead body is washed completely by near-relatives, neighbours and friends before it is sent for burial. The dead body, which is kept in *Taboot* [coffin], is taken to the graveyard in a procession of people. All people stay and pray till the dead-body is kept in the *Qabar* [grave] in the earth. The mourning in the family continues for three days. However, on the 4th and 40th day of the death, family members arrange functions and perform religious rituals for the benefit of the dead. They offer meals to the peers, relatives, neighbours and friends on these days.

[c] Marriages

Among the Hindus, marriage practices are performed in the religious framework. They generally believe that marriage are *Bhagwan* [God] ordained and heavenly decided. The relationship between husband and wife is highly sacred and is not for one generation

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but for many generations. While religious rituals are performed at every stage of marriage, some practices are performed necessarily. Before the selection of the boy or the girl is finalized, the local *Pandit* is consulted. His advice approves or rejects the new matrimonial relationship between boy and girl. In case he approves new relationship, the *Mangini* [engagement] ceremony follows. Then the most important practice related to marriage among Hindus is performed. It is called *Kanya Daan* [gifting of the daughter]. In it, the marriage between boy and girl gets necessary social approval and legitimacy after the couple walks 7 times around the fire and complete all formalities in presence of their parents, relatives, beighbours, friends and others. On this occasion, people try to avoid the consumption of meat. But, they have to do it for their Muslim neighbours.

The Muslim marriage in the area is wholly religious oriented and, so, performance of religious rituals is always there. The most important religious practice is *Nikkah* [a formal agreement between the bride and bridegroom]. It refers to a contract between the parties [boy and girl] to live together as husband and wife on the rights and obligations of each. It is signed by both partners willfully in the open. It ensures the amount of *Mahar* [an amount of money which is paid by the groom to the bride before formalizing the marriage between them] which has to be paid by the boy to the girl before the new relationship is finalized. All these practices are religiously oriented. The practice of en-

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dogamy is very strong in all villages. Though polygamy is religiously allowed, it stands nonexistent in the area. Divorce, religiously allowed, is also near-absent in the area. Child marriage is in vogue in the area.

[d] Healing:

The healing practices are performed in the area, more in the villages and less in Ramban. In fact, people of the Muslim and the Hindu communities do approach the *peers* and *sadoos* [priests in their respective communities] respectively for getting treatment for their diseases. This situation prevails in the context of not having modern medical facilities available in all villages. It was reported in Tangar that many people got rid of some diseases through healing. The individuals who are considered sacred and powerful in both communities do this job and, in return, they get money and many daily-use things. During the investigation, it was revealed that, even at present, some common and cronic diseases are treated by these priests through oral treatment. In fact, it is the belief/faith of these people which plays important role in this process. Khatana too mentions about the role of these religious persons who treat people's disease but, at the same time, exploit them.

3.4.3. Local Beliefs and Legends:

Despite the differences in religious practices between Muslims and Hindus, they share some beliefs and legends. The people in general in the area/s of study are highly superstitious which affects their life

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adversely. Majority of the Hindus believe that lord *Shiva* [a Hindu God], one of the Gods in Hindu mythology, lives in the mountains of Ramban. So, the *Shiva* temples have been constructed in every village. They believe that Lord Shiva is present in every village. However, a *Ragunath Mandir* has been constructed in Ramban proper on the left side of *Chinab*. Most of the people in the town visit this temple for *puja*. Moreover, people in this area have developed their own stories [often false] and myths about different deities and devils it was observed that every Hindu family has its own family God namely *Kul-devta* [a God in local Hindu mythology] who protects them from enemies.

There is a widespread belief among all people here that *Lakdu Baba*, a mystic of earlier times, defends the whole area of Ramban against all evil forces and calamities which include heavy rainfall, floods, drought and other natural damages. However, the Muslims of Tangar and Damkund do not share this belief. Some inhabitants in the area consider the *Baba* as imaginary idea. However, the *Baba's* temple is located at the hill top of Ramban, where many people go and sacrifice a sheep every year.

One of the myths, which was observed among the residents of Karol village, reveal that there is some super-human activity going on especially during the nights in *Kala Pann*. In fact, this place is located on one side of the *Chinab* river and is one km. away from the villages. The residents of this area revealed that weeping of small children, blowing of whistles continuously

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and off and on lights and some mysterious activities go on there during the nights.

In the area of study, people in general give a lot of respect to the *Peer-Babas,* saints and *Sadhus.* They visit them often and offer money, food items, vegetables and daily-use things. In response, they get good wishes.

One strong legend prevails in the area of study. The legend reveals that, in a place near the Tangar village which is unapproachable except on foot, there is a lot of gold and silver hidden under the earth. Moreover, in the near-by place, there are two stone-carved horses with riders on each. The local people believe that some people tried to dig out gold and silver from there, but they failed miserably. Finally, they died because of their attempt to rob gold and silver stored there for centuries.

3.5. MARRIAGE PRACTICES

3.5.1. Marriage rules and taboos for each group:

In general, Muslims in the area of study are highly endogamous and do not encourage exogamy. Theoretically, they can marry any Muslim. But, in practice, they certainly give consideration to the factors of family, clan, group/class and community. Accordingly, two brothers, two sisters and brothers-sisters marry their children without many problems. The cross-cousin marriage is still followed, especially among the *Gujjars.* Occupa-

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tional groups too marry within their own groups. The elite families also marry their children within the limits of the clan. The caste factor also plays certain role in the marriage between various caste groups. However, majority of the Muslims living in far off villages do marry within their own or a near-by village, the Muslims living in the town prefer to marry in the town or other surrounding towns like *Banihal*. The practice of patri-locality is dominant among Muslims living in the villages and the town. So, girls go and settle in the house of her husband after marriage. It is in exceptional cases that the boy goes and settle in the house of his wife after marriage. It was observed that certain hypergamous and hypogamous marriages took place in the area of study. Thus a boy of the lower caste married with the girl of upper caste and the vice versa also was also done among the Muslims here. Though polygamy was religiously allowed, Muslims here didn't follow the related practices. Near-total number of Muslims have one wife in this entire area. We could not trace a person having 3 or 4 wives at a time. However, there may be an insignificant number of cases in which a man has two wives at a time. In most of these cases, the man had married the second woman because of the infertility of the first wife/woman. It is important to note here that the inter-community marriage in this area is very difficult if not impossible. In the past, such marriages in the neighbouring towns have led to social disturbances there. Marriage with outsiders *or* foreigners is also actively discouraged. However, inter-group and inter-caste marriage goes on normally. In actuality, these

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emerging marriages could not be stopped in the environment of change and mobility.

Our team of RIs reported that the marriage among the Muslims in the area pass through stages of engagement, social interaction and *Shadi*. Traditionally, the engagement takes place after the parents and elders of both sides agree to enter in to marital relationship. On this occasion, the offer of engagement and its confirmation is carried out verbally and through the exchange of gifts. The period between the engagement and marriage is very crucial. During this period [which differs from family to family], the large-scale social interaction takes place through repeated visits to each others families and exchange of gifts on special occasions and festivals. The final stage comes at the time of marriage time when *Nikkah* is performed, amount of *Mahr* is paid and bride goes to groom's house and settle there. It was felt there that some kind of dowry has also emerged in the town and near-by villages, especially Metra. It was observed that, among Muslims as well as Hindus, the parents gave items like bedding, pots, clothes and so on to their daughters at the time of marriage.

Among the Hindus of the area, the practice of endogamy on the bases of family, clan, occupation, group and caste *[varna* and *jati]* is dominant. They also practice patri-locality. The practices of hypergamy and hypogamy is very crucial for them becase of caste consideration. It was reported that more hypergamous [in which the boy belongs to the upper caste and the girl to the lower caste] and less hypogamous marriages are

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taking place these days. The priests and the state apparatus support this type of marriages. The petty service castes marry among themselves as a rule. It was also noted that the Hindus equally abhor the inter-community marriages which, according to them, always leads to disturbances.

Among the Hindus in the area, the marriage starts with *Mangni* [accepting the marriage relation]. Later on, some relatives from the bride's side visit the groom's home and convey the acceptance of the relation. It is called *Thaka* function. Then *Shagun* is celebrated, before 3 days of the marriage. In this function, the bride's relatives visit the groom's home with gifts. In the villages of Maytra and Seri, the ring ceremony takes place at the same time and it is called *Kadmayee* and *Ghani*. Before 2 days of marriage, *choti mahendy* and *badi mahendi* functions are arranged. While in the former small number of relatives are invited, all relatives participate in the latter. On the day of marriage, the groom with about 150 *baratis* reach the bride's home. The *kanya-daan* function is organized and after its successful completion, the bride leaves for the groom's home. It is interesting to note that, in Metra village, the bride and groom make five circles only around the fire in place of seven circles common practice. At both places, i.e. groom's and bride's, only vegetarian food is served to one and all.

3.6. DIVISION OF LABOUR

3.6.1. Household Level:

As prevails in all traditional societies the world

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over, there is clear, categorical and compulsory division of labour [DOL] between the opposite sexes in Ramban and all surrounding villages under study. Though male dominated and discriminatory, this DOL stands as the basis of social dynamics and the 'functional whole' in the area. The individuals and groups have to develop and shape their roles accordingly, though they do not agree on its thematic and ideological propositions. Thus the DOL exists in all areas/fields and at all levels. It reflects necessarily in all in-family as well as out-family situations. It seems necessary to mention here that the framework of this traditional DOL functions in all groups and communities despite their differences in religion, caste, occupation, income, culture, language, ethnicity and social structure. The only exception in this regard can be made with regard to some elite families in Muslim as well as Hindu communities. The women of these families in the areas of study do not involve themselves in the manual work in their families and outside primarily for social and cultural reasons. Though the existing pattern of DOL stands discriminatory, there is hardly any related consciousness among the local women and no organized and systematic effort to negate this type of DOL is visible in the area. The situation has become worse in the area because of the lowest literacy rate among women of all groups and communities. The only hope comes from the qualitative and quantitative impact of the processes of modernization, especially adoption of science and technology, urbanization, multi-dimensional development, occupational mobility, secularization, in-

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dividualism and materialism and exposure to outsiders/foreigners and their culture.

Regarding the DOL at the household level, it has been reported that 'the heaviest tasks, as mentioned by all women in rural areas, is the collection of firewood and fodder. It has become increasingly difficult to find firewood and fodder, it often takes women a whole day to collect an adequate supply. Men do most farm work. Women from poorer households do pitch in during intensive farm activities; otherwise, women exclusively handle all animal husbandry related work except marketing of dairy products. Both men and women take the animals for grazing. Women and girls alone do all cooking and household chores." Thus it is clear that women of all groups and communities do the cooking, washing, cleaning, producing and upbringing of children, taking care of livestock, watch on the moveable and immovable property, hospitality and many other crucial jobs. On the other hand, men perform the works related to agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and marketing. In fact, women usually help men in their jobs, but the vice versa is not necessary. In actuality, it was observed that men and women do the jobs jointly like in the fields of farming, animal husbandry and marketing, it was also observed that in some cases and on some occasions such as visiting relatives and shrines outside their area, they purchase certain things for the family jointly. This type of behaviour gets repeated at the time of religious festivals like *Eed, Holi* and *Dewali.*

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It seems necessary to mention here that since no woman earns the money, she does not spend it outside. In fact, it puts a functional limitation on the role of women outside their own household. It is essentially in this context that women have no control over the family resources and they are hardly consulted in important decision-making in the families. It is also in the same context that women are denied their due rights, especially their share in the inheritance. All these features of DOL vis-a-vis women reflect the patriarchal social order existing in the area of study.

3.6.2 [a] Fuel, food and water:

The collection of firewood for domestic fuel was the exclusive job of the women of the family according to the traditional DOL practised here. Usually the women or girls of some families together go to the nearby forest and collect the required amount of firewood and come back to their homes by the noon. Women of all age groups except the elder women perform this duty regularly. The only exception is the group of women belonging to the elite-wealthy families in the area, who abhor the manual work in principle. However, the official-governmental agencies discourage this trend and sometimes stop it forceably. There is a clear reason for this. The government has adopted the policy to stop deforestation. It was argued that if deforestation is not checked and stopped, it may have extreme adverse effect on the society at large. It was found that women in Ramban town and Karol nearby village have no such role. It is because people

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in these areas have adopted different sources of fuel such as kerosene and gas for domestic use.

The preparation and serving of food to all family members stands the exclusive responsibility of women in the family. While a woman in a small-nuclear family does both these jobs, the women in large-joint family do it separately. Thus, in the later situation, usually the youngest woman cooks the food and the elder/eldest woman serves. Men have no concern with this arrangement which continues here for a long time. Finally, taking water for domestic use, especially for drinking purpose, is considered the exclusive job of the women and they do it regularly. Usually, women in the villages go in groups to fetch water. However, it was observed in the Ramban town and some nearby villages that some men occasionally help their women in fetching water.

[b] Market activities:

These activities are usually performed by men. They take *every* needed item, from vegetables to eatables and from daily-use things to important things, from the local market/s. However, on some particular occasions such as marriage and religious festivals, they go outside the area, especially to the neighbouring towns of Banihal, Batewot and Udhampur, and women accompany them at that time. In day-to-day normal life in the villages, the market activities are the male's important job. However, a slight deviation from this practice was observed in Ramban town.

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[c] Control over Resources:

As mentioned earlier, the area/s of study is characterized with patriarchy in which the feature of male ownership dominates and effects the entire life pattern. Religion and culture, in the empirical sense, support this kind of system. While religions [Islam and Hinduism] have legitimized this system, the cultures have determined the existing patterns. Thus women's control over various resources has been negated. In some cases, even the hereditary rights of women have been denied directly or indirectly. This in practice, women in the area have no or nominal control over various resources. All important resources which include house, animals, shops, household utensils, cloths, agricultural instruments and products, radios, watches and other things are owned and so controlled by men exclusively. It may be observed that, in totality, women have hardly any effective control over the resources which their families own. In the present day situation, no radical and related change has occurred in the area.

[d] Role in Decision-making:

As the women's role has been limited theoretically and practically, they don't play effective out-family role in the area/s of study. Even their household role has not been effective. Consequently, they are mal-treated and they play hardly any role in the decision-making process within their own families. Thus they don't play any role in the decisions regarding important matters such as purchase and sale of land and livestock, con-

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struction of new house, marriage of children, membership in the *panchayat* lending money to others, going on visits outside the village, accepting/rejecting goods and services of others and all other affairs in life. Functionally speaking, women in the area/s have no alternative except to live with this situation. However, it may be argued that there exist differences in the related pattern of women's life living in Ramban town and far off villages.

3.6.3. Discrimination against Women:

It was observed in general that there exists significant degree of discrimination against women in all areas of study. It is also important to mention that this discrimination exists in all groups and communities irrespective of their differences in religion, culture, income, occupation, social order, literacy, politics, castes and so on. It was conveyed that the practices of discrimination against women start at the time of their birth and continue even after their death. At the time of birth, the male babies and not the female babies are preferred. Female babies are usually neglected and consequently die more frequently. In the following period, the female children are not given full care and they suffer from faulty socialization. They are not provided even the basic education because they are considered as "liability". The women in this area have one of the lowest literacy rates in India. In their homes, the female children face continuous and systematic discrimination. They are given more household works which are odd,

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risky, manual and injurious. Some of them are even provided the left-over food. Finally, the parents marry them as early as possible as they are considered as "burden". After the marriage, they repeat the things which were done to them. Thus their woes become cyclical and is repeated numberless times.

It was noted in the area that women face discrimination in an organized way and in all fields. The fields identified included upbringing, socialization, education, economy, social order, religion, culture, politics and other fields.

3.7. MIGRATION

3.7.1. In and Out Migration:

In the areas of study, 2 trends of in-migration and 2 types of out-migration were identified clearly. The details in this regard follow. First, in this trend of in-migration, various groups of people came to Ramban and near-by villages from all districts of JK state, especially neighbouring districts of Udhampur and Doda and Banihal area. Some of them also belonged to Panjab and Bihar. Most of them settled here temporarily. These migrants, who belonged to Hindu and Muslim religious communities, came here before 1990 when all areas in JK state were experiencing fast growth and development. The dominant motive of this migration to Ramban was to fetch the economic benefits. Since Ramban was an emerging town at that time, increase

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and extension of economic activities was necessary. In that situation, these migrants could be accommodated/ adjusted easily.

Second, the second trend of migration to Ramban area started after 1990 when the militancy in Kashmir started formally. These migrants composed of Muslims and Hindus and had come from both provinces of the JK state. While some migrants, especially Muslims, settled here permanently, others settled here temporarily and left this place also when the effect of militancy reached here. The motivation of this migration was bi-dimensional. It was security consideration and economic consideration.

In the case of out-migration, there were also two trends. In the first case, the groups of migrants, mostly Hindus, who had come here earlier left for Jammu, Udhampur and outside the JK state too. This happened in the late eighties and early 1990s. The major motive of this migration was to save themselves and their property and business. Second motive was to maintain their economic activity in a peaceful area.

In the second case, groups of people, composing of old inhabitants and recent migrants and belonging to both religious communities migrated to Jammu and Udhampur and other places outside the JK state. This migration started from late 1990s and continues at present. This happened when the militancy expanded to the hearts of Jammu, Udhampur and Doda districts. The main motivation for this type of migration was to

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get secure themselves with their families. Other important motivation was to continue their business activities in peaceful areas. Finally, the future of children in terms of education compelled many to migrate out of Ramban.

3.7.2. Prediction of trends of migration in future:

Since the militancy conditions in the area continues with increasing intensity and expansion of areas, the out-migration from Ramban may continue and even may increase. Thus in all possibilities/probabilities, the migration from Ramban to other areas inside as well as to outside JK in the following ways:

[I] increasing number of people, both Hindus and Muslims, may leave for Jammu and outside state destinations primarily for security considerations;

[II] process of in-migration from Udhampur, Doda, Poonch, and Banihal will continue and may intensify; and

[III] in the local areas, increasing number of people will arrive in Ramban town from the far-off and bear-by villages.

3.7.3. Impact of security situation on population composition:

This impact can be explained in several points. First, the traditional population composition in the area

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has changed. Consequently, while the proportion of Muslims is increasing, that of Hindus is decreasing. This has happened in Ramban town and five villages under study. Our rough estimates revealed that Hindus in Ramban tehsil have lost the majority character or are fast losing it. Second, the ethnic composition in the town and some villages has been disturbed. When the non-Muslim component of population migrated, this situation emerged naturally. Third, the property of those who migrated from the area has been left un-cared. While some property has been sold by the owners, some has gone in government custody. Fourth, the security consciousness has emerged strongly among all groups and communities. The presence of security forces and militants attempt to target them has added to this consciousness. It was observed that the security forces let loose on common and innocent people when they are hurt or killed by the militants. Even the author and his team were trapped in one such situation.[15]

3.7.4. *Gujjar-Bakerwal* Migration:

Traditionally, *GBs* have been migrating from one particular place to another particular place for hundreds of years. This migration takes place through out the year and it is carried out for weeks or months with all family members and with all household things. While outside JK state, Gujjars are usually Hindus, but they are all Muslims in the state. The continued migration has determined their life-style. They are highly committed to migration and its responsibilities and thus socialize

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their children accordingly. Despite several official efforts to sedentarize them were carried out, these were not successful completely.

Regarding the routes of the GB migration, it was reported that there are two routes which they use often. From any area of the valley of Kashmir, they travel to Ramban through the Banihal pass and Ramsu on the national highway. From Ramban, they go to Damkund and cross the bridge there. Majority of them go through Metra bridge to Baithri Cheshma to Pogal while on their way to Kashmir. Another route used by the *Gujjars* is from Sangaldan to Damkund to Ramban via Metra bridge and then use the national highway. These two routes touch the project area. The route maps are enclosed here. Investigation revealed that the GBs stay in the entire area covering Ramban, Matera, Damkund and Tangar for 3 to 4 nights. In order to go from Jammu to different areas of the Kashmir valley, they move through the project area in the months of April and May. While going to Jammu from the Kashmir valley, they pass through the project area in the month of October.

Since the GBs are involved in constant movement with their livestock, they are not in a position to develop permanent relationship with the sedentary people in Kashmir as well as in Jammu. I lowever, their temporary relationship with sedentary people in both places can be characterized with working or occupational relationship. While the former type of relations are established between Gujjars and sedantary people for a brief period. They get the daily-use things from

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these people and pay either in cash or other things such as Ghee, milk, cheese and butter. However, they establish durable relationship with people where they stay for months together. The occupational relationship refers to a situation in which they do the labour and get wages for that.

The GBs have usually showed apathetic attitude and behaviour towards the problem of ownership of land. The government offered free land to them and some money for the construction of huts was also provided. But, the response of Gujjars was negative. Consequently, only some of them own some land and have made huts for living.

The division of labour among the Gujjars-Bakerwals is sex based. While males do farm work [if they have any land], grazing of animals, labour and market work, the females do the cooking, cleaning, washing and all other household jobs.

3.8. HISTORICAL REMAINS

3.8.1 In reality, there is no historical remains in terms of a historical monument in the area of study. No written records about the history or origin of this area are available. There are many temples and mosques in the areas of study, but these are of recent origin. However, the temples are more old than the mosques. The *Shiviji Mandirr* at Karol was reported to be of a century old. Similarly, the *Rughnath Mandir* on the national highway in Ramban is considered belonging to the time of Ranbir

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Singh. In Tangar, there stands a Mandir, partly damaged. In the vicinity of the temple, there are two statues of horse-riders. These have been attached with the mythical characters in the area.

3.9. IMPACT OF PRESENT SITUATION

3.9.1. In actuality, the militancy affected the Muslim and Hindu communities in the area of study. Again some members of both communities responded the situation by opting for migration to other parts of the state and the country. Those who stayed back and suffer also belong to both communities. While the Hindus generally migrated to different parts of the country, the Muslims left for different parts of the state. Consequently, the traditional pattern of population composition in the area changed radically, especially in the Ramban town. Moreover, this situation determined the future trend/s of in and out migration.

3.9.2. People belonging to both communities were affected in whole of their life, especially in the following fields:

Security: In the situation in which militants and security forces killed innocent people, every individual and group felt threatened. Many of them had no alternative except to migrate to other parts of the state and the country. In the new places, they felt safe and carried out economic activities in peaceful environment. But, there also, they faced certain crucial problems related to ac-

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commodation, income, health, education, marriage of children, language and culture.

3.9.3 Economy:

Though the traditional agricultural economy survived, non-agricultural sectors of labour, service and business suffered significantly. While the income of every household has gone down considerably, the living standards deteriorated. While dominant majority of people face economic hardships, more and more people get economically exploited.

3.9.4. Education:

The literacy has suffered a serious set back. While literacy rate in the entire area is lower, the literacy among women stands lowest. Drop-out rates, especially of female children, have increased. New school buildings could not be constructed and some of the old school buildings were damaged.

3.9.5. Culture:

The migrants left their own mother-tongues and adopted new languages in new areas. Same was done by their children. The free interaction between various cultures stopped. In actuality, hardly any cultural activity took place in the area. This has started effecting the nature of composite culture. Moreover, the social crisis within families has added complexity to the existing cultural plurality.

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3.9.6. Change and Development:

All programmes related to change and development, sponsored by the state-central governments and several NGOs in the area, got stalled. Consequently, the life conditions of people didn't change. So, they continued to suffer in every field of life.

3.10. Constitutional Provisions for Ethnic/Religious Minorities:

The ethnic group has been explained as those which "entertain a subjective in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of custom *or* both or because of memories of colonization and migration in such a way that this belief is important for the continuation of non-kinship communal relationship regardless of whether an objective blood relationship exists or not." On the other hand, a minority group may be defined as a "group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and, who, therefore, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination". In the context of these explanations, the Indian society stands for a plural society. There are various ethnic groups existing and maintaining their differing cultures and social institutions. Dominant -minority group relations are at odds in many respects. Ethnicity poses certain serious challenges to the broader Indian society in the past and is threatening at present.

The situation of "ethnic plurality" also prevails in

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the Ramban and contributes to the phenomenon of continuity and change in the area. The plurality of groups and sub-groups in the project and surrounding areas can be explained in terms of [functionally] existing collectivities of Muslims [Sunnis, several castes such as Khans, Wanis, Bhats, Peers, Dars and Banehalis], Hindus [belonging to various castes such as Rajputs, Shudras and other varnas and jatis], Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes [such as Guijars, Bakerwalls and others], Dalits [so called untouchables], Sikhs, various regional and linguistic groups [such as Kashmiris, Kashwaris, Baderwahis, Panjabis, Pahadis, Dogras, Urdu and Hindi speaking groups].

Since India stands for a secular and democratic republic, its constitution has clear and separate provisions for the security, equality and welfare of all minorities irrespective of their differences in race, colour, religion, region, caste, culture, language, social- economic status, ideology and so on. Article 29 and 30 maintains clearly that:

29. [1] Any section of citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

[2] No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of state, funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, Language or any of them.

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30. [1] All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

[2] The state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

The constitution of India makes provisions for protective discrimination. In order *to* regulate the classification of groups to be protected by law, the constitution categorically states that the "State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them: Article 15 [1] "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any *of* them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition" Article 15 [2], subject to specified exceptions.

After providing the general rule of equality before the law [Article 14] and the prohibition of discrimination [Article 15], the Constitution makes room for the reservation of posts in favour of citizens in special circumstances. Article 16 makes provision in relation to public employment. It provides certain forbidden grounds *of* classification of the people to be brought into the bounds of protective discrimination. The constitution mentions that "there shall be equality, of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment *to* any office under the state" Article 16 [1], and that "No citizen shall, on grounds only

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of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against, in respect of any employment or office under the state" Article 16 [2]. However, "nothing in this Article prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation *of* appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is *not* adequately represented in the services under the State" Article 16 [4]. The right of equality guaranteed by Article 16 [1] and [2] is subject to few explanations. Only Parliament of India can under Article 16 [3] make a law to deviate from the principle. Equal power is *not* given to the State Legislature.

Within the broader category of weaker sections of the society, the three -the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward Classes-were singled out for special protection and representation in the public services in this connection, the Constitution contain provisions to protect the interests of minorities as well. "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same" [Article 29 [1].

The Indian Constitution charges the state with the responsibility of making special provisions for the advancement of all socially and educationally backward classes, including the SCs and STs.

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SUGGESTIONS

4.1. Since the project area compose of groups, communities and castes characterized with distinctive ethnic and religious plurality, it must be maintained and strengthened at the time of shifting people from this place to other places.

4.2. Serious attempts must be carried out to protect the local languages and dialects. One way of doing it is that the mixed population characteristics of the town and villages must be continued necessarily in the new areas where they will live after dislocation from the project area.

4.3. Most serious efforts must be carried out to protect the occupational structure and economic activities of the area, especially in relation to the far off villages like Tangar.

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4.4. After dislocation in the project area, complete rehabilitation of indigeneous as well as migrant people must be carried out. But, in many fields, indigeneous population must be given preference because they cannot be mobile like migrants.

4.5. Professional and cultural organizations [especially the Non-governmental organizations - NGOs] must be consulted about the protection of existing cultural plurality in the area, so that the cultural varieties are maintained and continued. At the same time, the existing religious composition must be maintained through the formal and informal ways .

4.6. All traditional and modern educational institutions must be shifted to the areas and colonies where they will live after dislocation.

4.7. All available unemployed people living in the project area must be recruited or engaged in the project work. Since majority of the people living in the area are illiterate, they may be recruited or engaged as the unskilled labour. If any of the local people has professional and technical qualification, he/she must be recruited necessarily in his/her concerned field.

4.8. After detailed observation in the project area, we may say that some people may resist the shifting to other places. So, a strong awareness compaign about long-term and short-term benefits of the power project to the local people must be carried out repeatedly. Many governmental and NGOs must be involved in this process.

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4.9. Proper and due compensation for the property and all other things to the local inhabitants must be ensured. This will convey the message to the people in the area that they will be compensated properly. In this situation, while the opposition to dislocation of people will die down, it may also prove a motivating factor.

4.10. Serious attempts to save the mosques, temples, historical monuments/buildings and places of cultural, historical and community importance must be carried out, wherever possible.

4.11. All rehabilitation work in the concerned areas on the part of individuals and groups must be done in time. This will certainly have a positive impact on the processes of mobilization, cooperation and participation of the local people with the project authorities.

4.12. The attempts by the state and central governmental agencies-organizations must be to grant certain significant proportion of power to the local areas, regions and states. This will generate higher degree of goodwill and cooperation on the part of local residents.

4.13. In addition to the normal impact, the out-migration of members of all groups and communities must be actively discouraged. If it is not stopped, it may effect the plurality of population composition, the rich cultural life, and degree of cultural interaction and nature of composite culture in the area.

4.14. The areas of rehabilitation of the displaced individuals and families must be selected in a way which suits the locals in terms of weather conditions, economic-

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occupational activities and social-cultural ethos. Most important, this area must not be vulnerable to the militant activities in the area.

4.15. Since the total population, and consequently the density, of Ramban is increasing fast, it leads to the unplanned growth in the town. This growth must be checked and controlled. At the same time, activities of planned growth of the town must be carried out seriously.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

01. This refers to a usual and annual practice in JK state in which the government offices shift their place of work from Srinagar [summer capital of the state] to Jammu [winter capital of the state] in November and from Jammu to Srinagar in May every year. In this noval practice, thousands of government employees travel from Srinagar to Jammu and back not once but several times. Among other factors, this movement of people on the national highway has contributed to the growth and development of many towns, especially Ramban.

02. The decade-wise census has not been a regular/ continuous exercise in JK state. This census was not carried out in 1951 and 1991. Moreover, the

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academic credibility of the census figures has also been questioned because of their manipulative nature.

03. In the ideal and cultural framework, caste generally refers to a system of social stratification in the Hindu society in India. In this ideal form, the Hindu society is divided in four specific *vamas* which are *Brahmin, chatriya, Shudre and Vaish.* The *vamas* are sub-divided in many *jatis.* However, the Scheduled castes, called *Harijjans* also, are not included in the existing caste framework and are considered untouchables. The Hindu caste system has the pan-Indian character. It maintains six important features which are [a] specific hierarchy of castes; [b] composition of four [above-mentioned] castes; [c] occupational specialization of castes; [d] practice of strict caste endogamy; [e] concepts of purity and pollution; and ideology of *dharrna* and *karma.*

However, this ideal-typical situation of caste does not exist in the present-day Indian society. Nearly all studies of caste in the prevailing situation support this proposition. In actuality, it exists partly and without any coherence. This may be explained partly in the context of long-term and short-term implications of the processes of modernization and development in the larger Indian society and partly in the background of the role of the state, constitution, social legislation and judiciary to eradicate the caste through consistent efforts.

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The maintenance of even the existing Hindu caste system seems difficult in the situation in which the non-Hindus are in dominant majority. On the one hand, it is correct that the non-Hindus in India have accepted and adopted some features of the Hindu caste partly or wholly. But, on the other hand, the Hindus too have accepted and adopted some social structural features of the non-Hindus partly or wholly. In this kind of situation, the Hindu caste is not practized in totality by the minority Hindus. The case of Kashmiri *Pandits* in the Kashmir valley can be cited as a relevant example in this regard.

In Ramban area, at present, such a situation prevails partly or wholly. In such a situation when all *varnas* and *jatis* are not living there, the application of ideal caste structural features develops certain serious limitations.

04. The Muslim community in JK state compose of two sects: *Sunni* Muslims and *Shia* Muslims. While the former are further sub-divided among *Hanafis, Shaafis, Maalikis* and *Hanbalis,* the latter are sub-divided among the *Ismalees* and *Asna-asheris.* Though there are no exact figures about their population proportion, the unofficial estimates reveal their proportion at 80-20 per cent. In Ramban town and the villages under study, all Muslims are *Sunnis* and follow the *Hanafi* religious school of thought.

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05. The Muslim castes refer to the groups/baraderis/communities which include *Syeds, Khans; Ashrafs, occupational communities* and so on. But, all these groups are not caste analagus.

06. R. P. Khatana refers to these groups/sub-groups as *gaya-guzra, garib, khatoo-peeto, and maaldar.*

07. This study about women's role in the newly-elected *Panchayats* in the Jammu region of JK state was sponsored by State Resource Centre, University of Kashmir, Srinagar in 2002.

08. See no. 04.

09. The month of *Ramadan* [fast] is the third pillar of Islam. During this month, all Muslims keep fast from morning till evening.

10. Fourth pillar of Islam, *Zakat [ ]* refers to a practice in which a wealthy Muslim gives annually 2½ per cent amount of the cost of his personal property to the poor and needy.

11. The *Hajj* refers to a series of religious actions which a Muslim has to perform once in life-time in Mecca and Madina, Saudi Arabia. It is obligatory only on those Muslims who can afford its economic cost.

12. The *qurbani* [sacrifice] is one of the necessary acts in the *Hajj*.

13. Though the *astaan* tradition, which refers to regular attendance of shrines, is very strong in JK state,

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especially in the valley of Kashmir, it stands absent in Ramban and in its surrounding villages.

14. According to Hindus' belief that the life after death has to be seen in continuity. In this process, the person will achieve higher position and comforts if he performs good deeds in this world. On the other hand, the person will get lower position if he performs bad deeds.

15. There is a general pattern of the reaction of the security forces which they show when they are attacked by militants and especially in the situation when their colleague/s get killed. In this situation, they get furious and kill innocent civilians. In the incident in which I and my team members were caught took place on the national highway at a place which is about ten kilometers away from Ramban. In this incident, the militants attacked the BSF van. One or two BSF men got killed on the spot. This happened at a distance of about 300 meters from our vehicle. Just after this incident, the traffic was stopped on the road and we had to wait there for about five hours. The BSF men harassed and abused verbally and physically the common men and women. But, they did not kill any civilian.

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Section C

Sociological Study on

1. *Problems of Female Nurses in Kashmir*
2. *Gender Status in the Hanji Community in Kashmir*
3. *Gender Discrimination among the Gujjars of Kashmir*

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A Hindu Bridegroom in Metra : ready with Barat to leave for the Brides house.

Music and Dance at the time of marriage: A necessary feature of the Hindu marriage in Metra.

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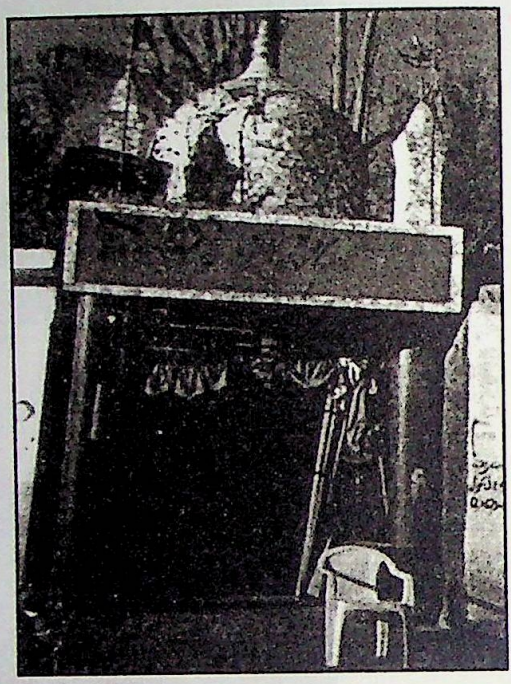
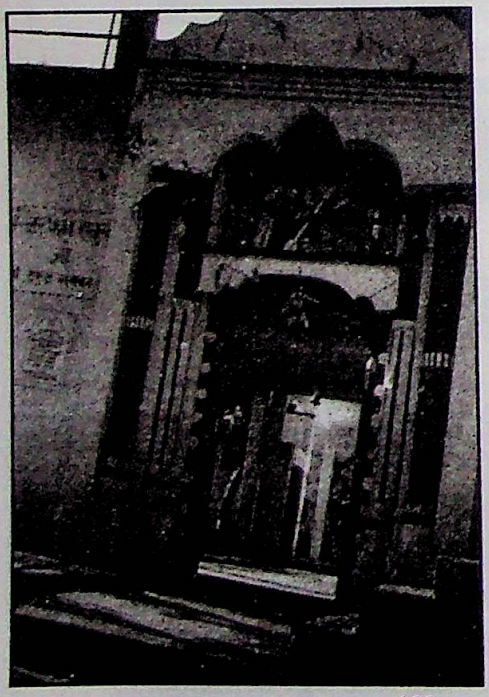


A Muslim Shrine
of Sofi Baba
Farid-ud-din
in Ramban town



A Hindu Temple
in Tangar.

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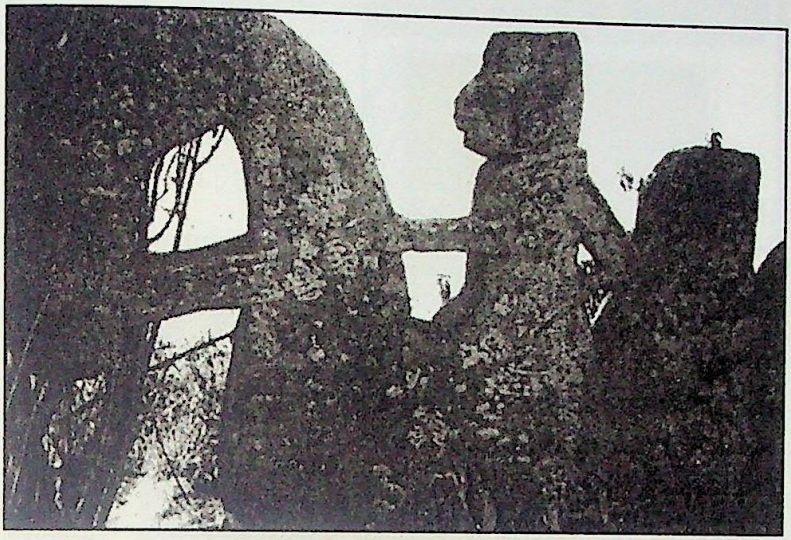

Remains of a historical site in Tangar.

Children in a government Primary School in Metra.

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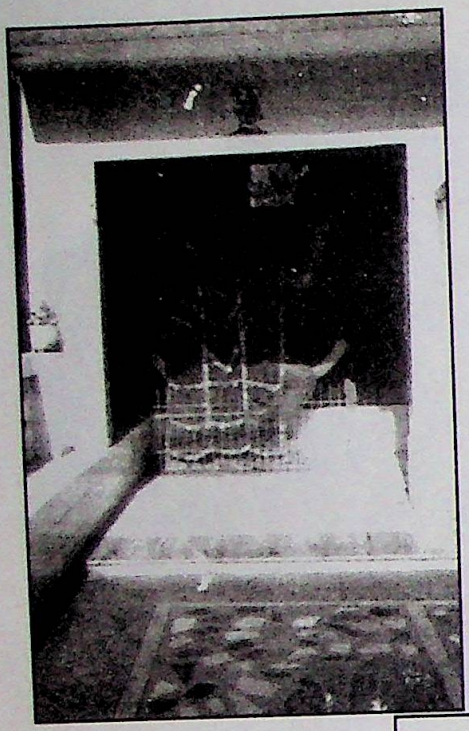
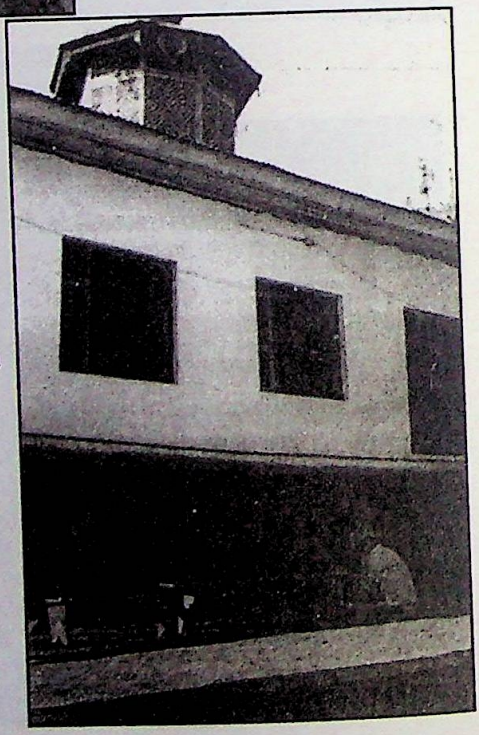


A Hanuman temple
in Metra village.



A Mosque with Madrasa
in Ramban town.

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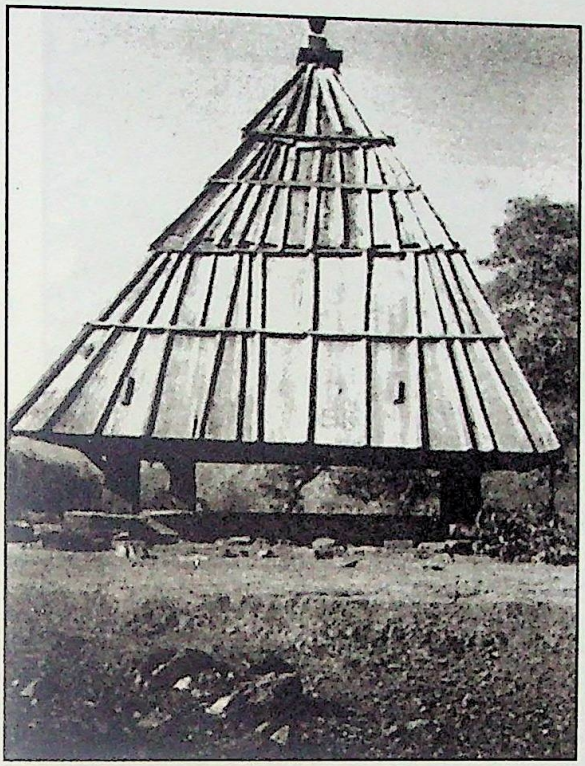
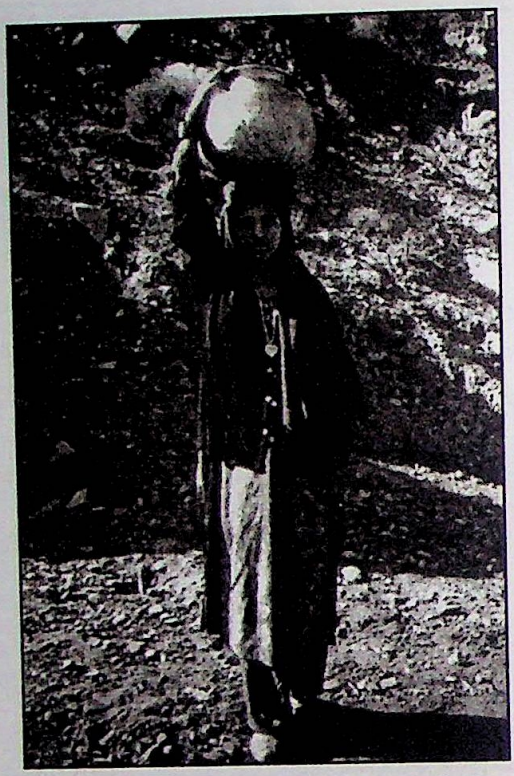


A Raghunath temple on the main road of Ramban town.

A Gujjar family in Tangar.

Kashmir Treasure Collection.Digitization by eGangotri



A Gujjar girl taking water to her home in Damkund.

Women in Damkund taking firewood to their home.

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PROBLEMS OF FEMALE NURSES IN KASHMIR

INTRODUCTION

Like the women in other parts of India, women in the Kashmir valley have undergone a significant degree of change in all fields of life. This specifically reflects in the emergence of the role of working women. In this thematic context, large number of women, after getting general / technical education, has opted consciously to work, regularly and on remunerative basis, outside their homes for most part of the day in different offices, organizations and so on. The role of the female nurse falls in this sociological framework of change.

This broader and deeper transformation among women in Kashmir had positive as well as negative aspects. On the one hand, this trend of change was directed towards overall emancipation of women. So,

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in this broader process of change they achieved economic independence, gender equality, and higher social status, became a decision-maker inside and outside their families and many of her basic rights were identified and restored. But, on the other hand, these benefits were accompanied by various problems such as emergence of dual role of the working women, marital disharmony, social conflict within and outside their families, discrimination and harassment, and problems of children's socialization. In many cases and situations, these negative implications are more prominent. It was essentially in this background that we took the case of female nurses in the Kashmir valley and attempted to enquire/investigate about their problems. We made an attempt to identify and explain the major problems which the female nurses faced primarily due to their work outside their homes for most part of the day.

This survey was carried out among 100 female nurses working in different hospitals in Srinagar district in J&K state. This stratified and random sample of nurses was developed on the consideration of their places of work, age groups, period of experience, level of education, marital status, income of their family, and social status. A detailed questionnaire was framed which composed about 20 set of questions. The respondents were asked questions and their responses were recorded in the questionnaire by the research investigator. Subsequently, this data was aggregated, tabulated and described on the basis of themes and topics.

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I feel that this survey on the female nurses in Kashmir stands as the first serious and academic effort towards understanding their problems. I hope that this initiation will be followed by many more researches on the nurses in Kashmir.

1. ADOPTION OF NURSING PROFESSION

1.1. Generally, the adoption of the nursing profession as the life-long career was not common in Kashmir. In actuality, the role of the nurse was not considered admirable or desirable. So, not many people in the valley were opting for the nursing profession/career. However, in the period after 1947, a radical change has occurred vis--a-vis this traditional attitude and consequent behaviour. Now, many people belonging to all classes and groups opt for nursing career for their women. In this situational context, we enquired from the respondents about the factor/s which made them to choose or adopt the nursing career in their life. The response they showed reflects in the following table:

TABLE NO. 1

Motivating Factors for joining nursing job

S. No.	Motivating factor	Number of respondents [%]
01.	Personal	49.00
02.	Social	22.50
03.	Economic	18.50
04.	Other factors	10.00
	Total	100.00

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The above table reveals that a dominant majority of respondents, i.e. 49.00 percent, adopted the nursing job primarily due to personal considerations. It means that they joined this job on the basis of personal liking [which had compelled them to undergo a certain training course inside or outside the state] or they were impressed by their near and distant relatives. In many such cases, a girl nurse provided an effective and model role for other girls in her family/clan circle. Second, 22.50 percent respondents said that they joined this profession due to social reasons, which include, desirable social status of the nurse in the present day situation, increasing value of the nurse in the marriage market, especially in the rural areas, and new social estimation of the working role of the nurses in particular and of all women in general. Third, about 19.00 percent respondents revealed the economic reason as the sole and primary factor for joining the nursing profession. It clearly means that the economic necessity compelled them to adopt this job, otherwise they could have joined any other available job in the market. It is necessary to mention here that simultaneous application of more than one factors also determined the adoption of nursing career by the respondents. Here it seems difficult to develop the primacy of a particular factor. The response of 10.00 percent respondents can be explained in this way.

2. WORK SCHEDULE OF RESPONDENTS

2.1. Our investigation among the female nurse respondents working in different hospitals in district

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Srinagar about their schedule revealed the following pattern of work performed by them:

[a]	Duty hours per day	Number of respondents [%]
	01-06	28.00
	07- 12	35.50
	13- 18	36.50
		100.00
[b] Duty days per week		
	04	08.00
	05	27.00
	06	03.00
	07	62.00
		100
[c]. Duty days per month		
	16 – 20	08.00
	21 – 25	28.50
	26 – 29	51.50
	30 – 31	12.00
		100.00

The above statistics reveal that the female nurse respondents had to work for more and lengthy hours, which had physical and psychological impact on their health and personality. While about 36.00 percent of respondents had to work regularly either for 7 to 12 hours or 13 to 18 hours in a day, 62 .00 percent of the respondents had to work 7 days a week. The latter response came especially from junior nurse respondents. Moreover, about 52.00 percent respondents conveyed that they had to work for 26 to 29 days a month. All this statistics reveal that the female nurses do work regularly in the hospitals relatively for more hours.

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2.2. DAY/NIGHT DUTY

The female nurse respondents performed their duty during the day time or the night time according to the approved departmental schedule to be followed by all medical and para-medical staff. While the male nursing staff face no serious problem because of night duty, the female nurses had to face numerous problems because of this duty. These problems are directly related to the child care -elder care at home, socialization problems in the family and marital disharmony. In this situational context, we asked a specific question. The response we got reflects in the following table:

TABLE NO. 2

Day/Night duty schedule

Day/night duty	Number of respondents[%]
Day duty	13.00
Night duty	04.00
Both duties	83.00
	100.00

The above figures about day and night duty of female nurses in the hospitals show that only a few of them do the night duty. It follows that their male colleagues take care of them and do not ask them to come often for night duty. In fact, the nurses who do

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the night duty are negligible. However, in some cases and at particular occasions, they perform the night duty.

2.3. DUTY WITH MALE COLLEAGUES

In the traditional situation here, women generally remained segregated. But, as a result of women's work outside their homes regularly and on remunerative basis, they had to interact necessarily with their male colleagues at their places of work. The same pattern of change apply to the female nurses because they too have to work and interact constantly with their male colleagues in the hospitals during the day as well as the night time. Our investigation divulged that 100 percent female nurses worked with their male counterparts in the hospitals. While dominant majority of respondents felt that this pattern of work gave rise to healthy interaction between males and females there, a tiny minority opposed it. The latter held that this pattern of work had undesirable impact on females, especially belonging to the conservative families.

2.4. OFFICE OFF DAYS

It is in consonance with the heavy schedule of duty at their places of work, mentioned in the preceding sections, that they get very less off days from their office. Our enquiry among female nurses in Srinagar city reveals that they get very less time from their office work for rest, leisure and entertainment within and outside their families. In this regard, our respondents gave the following response:

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TABLE NO. 3
Details about Off-days in the Office

Number of off-days	Number of Respondents [%]
In a week:	
none	64.00
1 – 2 days	36.00
	100.00
In a month:	
none	11.00
1 – 4 days	54.00
5 – 9 days	28.50
10 – 12 days	06.50
Total	**100.00**

2.5. LEAVE AVAILED BY THE RESPONDENTS

Continuing the preceding trend of heavy work load and less time for rest, the female nurses availed very less number of leave days. While 79 percent of them had not availed any due leave in the previous one month, about 37 percent of them had repeated the same behaviour in last one year. Again while 41.00 percent respondents had availed 10 to 20 days leave in the last one year, about 20.00 percent respondents had availed 1 to 4 days leave in the last one month on an average. The details in this regard can be seen in the following table:

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TABLE NO. 4
Due leave availed by the Respondents

Due leave availed	Number of Respondents [%]
In the last one month	
none	79.00
1 - 5 days	20.00
Don't remember	01.00
	100.00
In the last one year:	
none	37.00
1 - 9 days	13.00
10 - 20 days	41.00
one month	4.00
two months	2.00
three months (maternity)	2.00
don't remember	01.00
	100.00

3. WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE HOSPITALS.

3.1. The working conditions in the hospitals necessarily affect the medical staff there. If these conditions do not fulfill minimum requirements, it develops negative feelings against various groups and sub-groups working there. The female nurses working in the hospitals develop positive or negative feeling in this context. Our respondents in the city of Srinagar too seem

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satisfied or dissatisfied about the working conditions in the hospitals. Our enquiry among female nurses revealed that about 70 percent among them felt satisfied about prevailing working conditions at their places of work. The reason/s they put forward in support of their argument included the following:

- ★ minimum facilities available in the hospitals;
- ★ people consider the nursing job as respectable one;
- ★ there is a lot of job satisfaction;
- ★ team work and cooperation between colleagues;
- ★ disciplined life;
- ★ source to gain the real life experience;
- ★ more chances of advancement in material and non-material fields;
- ★ punctuality and regularity in the places of work;
- ★ better pay and other facilities.

3.2. On the other hand, about 30 percent female nurse respondents felt dissatisfied with the prevailing working conditions in the hospitals. The reason/s for creating dissatisfaction among the respondents included the following:

- ★ heavy work schedule in the hospitals;
- ★ no accommodation/hostel facilities;
- ★ very difficult public dealing in the hospitals;
- ★ uncleanliness in the hospitals

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- ★ non-availability of essential drugs in the hospitals;
- ★ lack of investigation machines;
- ★ dealing with the illiterate public;
- ★ lack of transport facilities;
- ★ administrative bungling; and
- ★ little degree of corruption.

4. DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSEMENT

4.1. There is a view, upheld by some experts and laymen, that the practices of discrimination and harassment are in vogue in the hospitals. Our investigation among female nurses in Srinagar district reveals the opposite view. However, while discrimination is practised insignificantly, the practice of harassment exists significantly. Thus 98.00 percent of our respondents felt that they were not discriminated in any way. But, 2.00 percent respondents felt that they were a bit discriminated in the hospitals. The only argument they could present in support of their view was that they were discriminated by their seniors.

4.2. However, there was a significant degree of response vis-a-vis harassment. 2.00 percent respondents revealed in clear cut terms that they were harassed constantly by their senior staff, especially the officers. About 44.00 percent respondents revealed that they were harassed by their seniors. They explained the harassment in moral as well as in non-moral terms. On the other hand,

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a majority of 54.00 percent respondents said that they were not harassed at all. Those who were harassed held that this undesirable practice could be eradicated through effective and efficient administrative set up.

5. ESTIMATION OF THE NURSING PROFESSION

5.1. As explained in the previous section/s, nursing profession was not estimated socially desirable. So, not many people were sending their daughters and other ladies in the family/clan, to do the nursing job. But, due to various factors, especially the impact of the processes of modernization, this attitude has changed radically. In this changing context, the role of a nurse is estimated as good and best. When we enquired about this phenomenon from our respondents, the dominant majority estimated their role as good and best. When they were asked to cite reasons for their view, they conveyed the following response:

- ★ nurses take good care of patients;
- ★ nursing is considered as one of the best human service;
- ★ nurses prove helpful to the needy and sufferers;
- ★ nursing stands as a noble profession;
- ★ nurses have good academic qualifications;
- ★ nurses reflect increasing rate of literacy;
- ★ nurses develop satisfactory behaviour;
- ★ nursing is a sacred social service;
- ★ nursing has proved as a source of gaining good experience.

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5.2. On the other hand, 21.00 percent respondents conveyed that they consider the role of the nurse as bad. The reasons for this view cited by them included the following:

- ★ night duty of the nurses;
- ★ narrow-minded thinking of people;
- ★ conservative attitudes;
- ★ nurses' treatment of the males;
- ★ nurses' dealing with the illiterate people.

5.3. In order to know the changing views of the female nurses, the respondents were asked to present their views about other careers/professions which the women have adopted in Kashmir. Majority of respondents felt that women working in other fields [than nursing] are better paid, have better working conditions, have better social image, have better legal rights and so on. Though these views are not absolutely correct, they primarily represent the respondents' perception about these careers. The respondents [in varying percentages] highlighted the features of different careers/professions, which, they felt, were more attractive, paying and socially.

6. CAREER FOR THEIR SISTERS/DAUGHTERS.

6.1. Continuing the theme of estimation of their and other careers/professions, the respondents were asked about their choice/preference of the same for their sisters [in case of unmarried respondents] and

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daughters [in case of married respondents]. They gave specific choice as well as preference in this regard. Their response in detail is given in the following:

No. of Respondents	Career choice	Reasons for their choice
33.00 %	Doctor	the top noble profession. highest degree of job satisfaction. Considered as best human service. Professional job orientation. Handsome salary. Most respected job. Considered a successful career.
18.00%	Nurse	best human service. one of the noble professions. Gives good salary. job satisfaction. Technical job. Social work orientation.
13.00%	Teacher	Respectable job. long vacations. Lesser work in the schools. Easy and suitable job for women. Develops manpower for the nation.
07.00%	Officer	More prestigious job. lot of facilities provided. Lesser work-load. Command authority and power.
13.00%	Any other Job than Nurse	Negative image of nursing profession. problematic nature of nursing job duty on odd hours harassment of nurses by their seniors
06.00%	Job of their Own Choice	Consideration of talent and interest Independence of decision – making

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7. ESTIMATION OF OTHER WORKING WOMEN.

7.1. The female nurse respondents have developed particular views/ideas regarding the roles of other working women. When we asked the respondents in this regard, they gave the response entered in the following table:

TABLE NO. 5

Estimation of other Working Women

S. No	Other Working Women	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total
1.	They are better paid	98.00	02.00	100.00
2.	They have better working Conditions.	77.50	22.50	100.00
3.	They have better social image.	68.00	32.00	100.00
4.	They have better legal rights.	99.00	01.00	100.00

8. ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

8.1. It has generally been observed that the adoption of a working career by women necessarily leads to their economic independence in terms of their self-earning and self-spending. More or less the same pattern of change has developed among female nurse respondents of this survey. In this connection, when we sought the response of our respondents, all of them [i.e. 100 %] agreed with the preceding proposition. It means that

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the self-serving and self-spending have given them complete economic independence.

8.2. In response to other related questions, 82.00 percent respondents revealed that they spend the self-earned money themselves. The areas/items of expenditure identified by them are personal-children needs, home consumption items, needs of younger brothers and sisters, savings in the bank and post office and so on. A little amount is spent on in-laws family members.

8.3. While 12.00 percent respondents said that they, mostly unmarried, hand over their self-income to their fathers, 03.00 percent respondents gave it to their mothers. Again, when 2.00 percent respondents handed over their salary to their husbands, 01.00 percent respondents gave it to their fathers-in-law.

9. NURSES AND THEIR MARRIAGE

9.1. All professions/careers have certain definite value in the marriage market.

Same is correct about the career of the female nurse. Their career/profession was valued as positive or negative estimation by the broader society. In response to our question, the respondents provided clear-cut views. About 57.00 percent of the respondents felt that the nursing profession/career had a positive image which benefited her at the time of marriage. They gave the following reasons for supporting their positive view:

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- ★ In-laws family wanted a professional daughter-in-law.
- ★ some ladies in the in-laws family were already working in this area.
- ★ Self-choice of the husband.
- ★ Belonging to the occupational community.

9.2. About 4.00 % respondents gave the opposite view, i.e. the profession/career of a female nurse was valued negatively. They explained this response in terms of disliking of [this career] by their husbands and the in-laws family at large. Moreover, this profession was considered neither prestigious or paying. So, it contributed negatively at the time of marriage.

9.3 In the above context, the female nurses, like other working women, developed specific patterns of marriage. In this connection, we made an enquiry about some practices of marriage among these respondents. The response they gave has been given in the following table:

TABLE NO. 6

Marriage practices among Respondents

S.No.	Marriage Practice	Response of respondents (%)
1.	Endogamy – I	
	- within the kin group	12.00
	- outside the kin group	50.00
	- unmarried	38.00

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		100.00
2.	Endogamy – II	
	- within the specific area	18.00
	- Outside the specific area	44.00
	- unmarried	38.00
		100.00
3.	Endogamy – III	
	- within the occupational community	12.00
	- outside the occupational community	50.00
	- Un-married	38.00
		100.00
4.	Nature of marriage	
	- self-choice marriage	04.00
	- arranged marriage	46.00
	- between the two types	12.00
	- unmarried	38.00
		100.00

10. CHILD-CARE DURING THE DAY TIME

10.1. One of the crucial implications of the adoption of working career by women, including the female nurses, was that children of early ages were left at their homes without mother care during the day time. This led to emergence of various problems for these children. The working parents, especially the mother, were compelled to take the help of near-relatives or distant relatives or servants/maids. That is what female nurses also did. We enquired from them who take' the care of their child/children at home during the time they remain out in the hospitals, especially at night time. In response to this question, they identified the care takers of children at home during the time they remain out as mentioned in the following table:

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TABLE NO. 7

Care Takers of the children at home.

S. No.	Name of care-takers	Number of respondents [%]
1.	Parents / Sister in law	21.00
2.	Parents / Sisters	16.00
3.	Maid servant	5.00
4.	Husband	3.00
5.	Unmarried / No Child	52.00
	Total	**100.00**

10.2. Further inquiry in this regard revealed that while 44.00 percent respondents were satisfied with this type of care-taking of their children, 4.00 percent of them were not satisfied at all. The former nurses explained that their children are taken care of in the best way by their near and dear relatives. On the other hand, the latter nurses upheld the view that nobody can give the best care to children except their mothers.

10.3. We also enquired about the number of children our respondents had at the time of field survey. This helped us in assessing the nature and enormity of the problems which they and their children face. Our enquiry revealed that 39.00 percent of female nurses had one or two children and 9.00 percent had 3 or 4 children. Rest of the respondents were unmarried.

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10.4. We made investigation about the respondents' opinion about having more children. 19.00 percent respondents opined to have more children, especially the male children. While 14.00 percent respondents wanted to have one or two children more, 4.00 percent wanted to have 2 or 3 children more. Only one percent respondents wish to have 3 and above no. of children more.

11. EMERGING MAJOR PROBLEMS

11.1. The female nurses in Kashmir developed a set of major problems which can primarily be related to the adoption of their new role. About 54.00 percent respondents identified these problems in the in-home situation such as alienation from in-laws, husband and children; marital dispute with the husband, dual workload and so on. About 27.00 percent respondents identified these problems in the working place context. These problems include heavy work load, conflict between juniors and seniors, lack of proper accommodation, night duty, and service conditions and so on. Both these groups highlighted the transport problem as one of their crucial problems.

12. SOURCES OF ENTERTAINMENT

12.1. It was held by the experts that since female nurses have to work for more hours and at odd hours, they need to entertain themselves regularly. Our enquiry regarding the sources of entertainment revealed the following details

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- ★ watching television - listening radio
- ★ chatting with hostel-mates and family members
- ★ reading books, magazines, newspapers, etc.
- ★ writing letters to their husbands
- ★ playing with children
- ★ visiting people
- ★ knitting
- ★ looking after the home/kitchen
- ★ playing indoor games
- ★ cooking
- ★ singing
- ★ gardening
- ★ going for picnics
- ★ photography.

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GENDER STATUS IN THE HANJI COMMUNITY IN KASHMIR

INTRODUCTION

The topic of gender discrimination has emerged in the present day world as a topic for scientific research and as an agenda for action, especially at the arrival of new century. It is not only for academic objectives but also reflects the concern for the half of suffering humanity. It is essentially in this context that international and national organizations and the governments throughout the world study the relevant situation, make long term-short term programmes-policies, and attempt to improve the prevailing conditions of women, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the Indian sub-continental society, the condition of women stands pathetic. They suffer in all fields of life particularly in education, health, economic

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and social areas and so on. Moreover, the aspect of discrimination on the basis of sex is a fundamental problem. This miserable situation demands scientific study in order to develop proper understanding and realistic planning and programmes. This will certainly help in the process of improvement of life conditions of the suffering women in our part of the world.

In the traditional Kashmiri society, the gender discrimination stood as the existing phenomenon which affected the entire society from family to university and from economy to polity. In this situational context, there is a need to make a scientific study of the phenomenon in a particular and limited context. That is what we have done in this survey. This may help in developing proper understanding of the relevant situation and encourage and motivate GOs and NGOs to initiate relevant action to help the suffering women.

This survey was conducted in the Haanji community in the Hazratbal area in late 1998. 100 fisherwomen of this community were interviewed and their responses were recorded in the pre-prepared questionnaires. The sample of fisherwomen respondents was selective giving representation to income, social, age, marital and working groups.

All of them lived in small houseboats or shikara-size boats. The data/information collected through the fieldwork was aggregated, tabulated and explained according to the themes of the survey.

I feel that this survey represents the initiation of serious efforts to understand fisherwomen/fishermen

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community's problems in order to provide realistic and durable solutions.

1. CATCHING AND SELLING THE FISH

1.1. Fishermen and fisherwomen have developed different engagements in their occupation. Our inquiry in this regard revealed clear division of labour between men and women on the one hand and majors and minors on the other. The 70.00 percent job of catching the fish is performed by elder males, while 30 percent job is done by male children. Female elders and children don't take part in this job. While 74.00 percent respondents said that they catch the fish during the day time, especially in the morning and evening, 26.00 percent respondents do this job during the night. Again it was revealed in the investigation that all the fish are sold in the market during the day time exclusively by the women. Women do this job during the day time in addition to the jobs of cooking and taking care of children. Some fisher women take their infants with them to the market. When we enquired about this particular behaviour of women, the respondents gave the following reasons for this:

First, 20.00 percent respondents said that women do this work as they have been doing this traditionally. Second, 25.00 percent respondents said that women do this job as they are considered experts in selling the fish in handsome amount of money. Third, 55.00 percent respondents reported that women do this because their

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males have no time for selling the fish as they remain busy in catching the fish during the day time.

2. DISPOSAL OF THE FISH

2.1. The fishermen catch the fish in the famous Dal Lake. The quantity of fish they catch vary from individual to individual and family to family. It also varies from season to season. Our enquiry in this regard revealed the following information:

TABLE NO. 1.

Quantity of fish fishermen catch

S. No.	Time	Quantity (Kgs.)	No. of respondents (%)
1.	Per day	02 - 05	60.00
		05 - 10	40.00
2.	Per week	20 - 30	60.00
		31 - 60	40.00

2.2. The fishermen have to pay taxes etc. to the government for catching the fish in Dal Lake. In actuality, they get the licence from the government for a specific period and they pay about Rs. 200/- for a period of 3 years. However, majority of the fishermen [about 55 percent] have not paid this amount.

2.3. After catching the fish, these are disposed of as early as possible to different individuals and agencies. Our

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investigation revealed the following individuals and agencies:

[a] general market [85.00 % respondents];
[b] whole-saler [10.00 % respondents]; and
[c] retailer [05.00 % respondents].

3. MARKET COST OF THE FISH.

3.1. Our investigation divulged that the fishermen/women get Rs.300/- to Rs. 400/- in the market and Rs. 250/- to Rs.300/- from the wholesaler for 10 kilograms of fish of the local variety. We also enquired about the input of time for catching particular amounts of fish. It revealed the following relevant information:

TABLE NO. 2
Time Input for catching the fish

S. No.	Amount of fish	Time Input	Number of respondents[%]
01.	10 kilograms	02-04 days	75.00
		05-10 days	25.00
02.	50 kilograms	15-20 days	78.00
		21-30 days	22.00

4. EXPLOITATION OF FISHERMAN

4.1. In the above context, an enquiry was made regarding the exploitation of fishermen/women at the hands of wholesalers. In response to this question,

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majority of respondents [i.e. 56.00 %] felt in the negative. Though they felt they work very hard even on odd hours and get meagre amount of profit, they are not exploited by the wholesaler. Some of the respondents were even sympathetic to the wholesalers who, according to them, give fish to them without making payment at that time.

4.2. But, on the other hand, about 35.00 percent respondents felt exploited by the wholesalers and others. They put forward the argument that they get exploited in two ways. First, they don't get due amount or profit of their labour which their family put in the occupation. Second, thus it is not only the group of wholesalers but the people too who exploit them by paying lesser amount as cost of fish in comparison to the cost of other such commodities in the market. At the same time, they are not ready to leave this occupation and adopt new occupation.

4.3. About 15.00 percent respondents didn't respond to this question. They remained silent. But, their silence gave the impression that they felt exploited by the wholesalers and the society at large. They are exploited economically as well as socially.

5. ENGAGEMENT SCHEDULE.

5.1. It has been generally observed that fisherwomen remain busy in the occupational activities throughout the day. Sometimes, they have to work on odd hours in the morning and evening. Our enquiry in this regard revealed the same phenomenon. The details follow:

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TABLE NO. 3
Working schedule of Fisherwomen

S. No.	Days/Weeks	Working hours	No. of respondents[%]
1.	Per day	06-10	91.00
		08- 12	09.00
2.	Per week	5-6 days	99.00

The above table reveals heavy schedule of occupational activities of the fisherwomen. Our inquiry further revealed that about 95.00 percent of them stay at home one day in a week for occupational as well as non-occupational reasons. This day is usually Saturday. Fishermen too stay at home once a week, i.e. on Friday. This is partly because of taking rest and partly because of offering Friday prayers, especially at Hazratbal dargah/mosque. On the other hand, about 5.00 percent fisherwomen respondents do not stay at home any day in a week. Moreover, a dominant proportion of the respondents were compelled to stay their homes due to heavy rain/snowfall, freezing of Dal during the winter, and political disturbances and consequent shutdown of transport.

6. SITUATION OF CHILDREN.

6.1. Our investigation in this area revealed that the number of children of an average fisherwoman was relatively high. The details follow in the table:

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TABLE NO. 4
Average number of children of Fisherwomen

S. No.	Average No. of Children	No. of respondents[%]
1.	04 – 07	68.00
2.	08 – 10	32.00

6.2. It was generally observed that there existed high mortality rate in the fiserwomen community. Many children die at the time of birth and many more die after some period of their birth. The reasons have not to be searched. They are obvious from their style of life. Our investigation found that 40.00 percent respondents had experienced 2 or 3 deaths of their children at the time of or after [some time of] their birth, while 45.00 percent had experienced 1 death of their children. A minority of 30.00 percent respondents had not the experience of any death of their children at the time of or after their birth.

6.3. In the preceding situational context, the fisherwomen had a common wish for more children, especially the male ones. When we enquired from them, they gave the response mentioned below:

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TABLE NO. 5

Wish to have more children by Fisherwomen

S. No.	Wish to have more children	No. of respondents[%]
1.	Yes	57.00
2.	No	37.00
3.	No response	06.00

The respondents gave specific reasons for their positive and negative responses. In the former case, the reasons cited by the respondents included need for extra hands at home, need to earn more by extra persons, and common feeling of having more [male] children. In the latter case, the reasons cited by the respondents included poverty, more children cannot be safe guarded and emerging dislike for more and more children.

7. EDUCATION

7.1. The fisherwomen community is extremely backward as reflects in near 100 percent illiteracy. This situation continues with lesser and insignificant changes. It is interesting to mention here that this situation exists and continues despite the fact that the University of Kashmir lies within half a kilometer distance. Our question regarding the education of children of the fisherwomen was responded in the way that about 27.00 percent children [mainly the male ones] go to the nearby

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government school, while 77.00 percent children don't go the school. The reasons mentioned in the latter case were poverty and poverty-based culture. It seems important to mention here that a significant number of these children, especially the female ones, drop out from the schools before they reach to the 5th standard. As per an unofficial estimate, above 90.00 percent of these children, especially the female ones, drop out from the school even before they complete the primary standard education.

7.2. When the children do not go to the school, they stay at home and remain idle. However, with the advancement in their age, they are made engaged in the domestic works [in case of female ones] and occupational works [in case of male ones]. The female children develop the necessary occupational skills as well.

7.3. We also enquired about the liking of fisherwomen to send their children [both, males and females] to the schools. In this regard, our probe revealed that a huge majority of respondents [i.e. 94.00 percent] like to send their children to the school. But, the economic as well as non-economic reasons compel them not to send their children to the school. Moreover, throwing children in to the occupation at an early age becomes another potential factor for not sending children to the school. Our survey estimated the proportion of these non-school-going children as 6.00 percent.

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8. SCHEDULE OF DAILY ACTIVITIES.

8.1. In order to know the totality of work performed by the fisherwomen, we enquired from the respondents about their activities throughout the day. In response to this question, we got the following response:

[a] Women who go out for selling the fish perform the following set of activities:

Morning
- kitchen work
- other household works
- taking care of infants
- do some works of the husband and others.
- Preparatory work for selling fish.

Day
- selling fish
- purchase of household items
- purchase of daily use items

Evening
- kitchen works
- taking care of all children and other household works.

[b] The women who stayed at their homes performed the set of activities as mentioned below:

Morning
- kitchen works
- taking care of children and elders
- other household works

Day
- kitchen works
- other household jobs

Evening
- kitchen works
- other household jobs.

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[c] We also enquired about the work performance of out-going and not-out-going women in the fishermen community on off days or holidays. There seems not much difference in the work performance of fisherwomen on the working and off days. In actuality, fisherwomen have to work more on off days because of the presence of all males and children in the home. In general, it may be argued that fisherwomen perform more works than the fishermen within and outside their homes. But, at the same time, they don't get the equal or higher social status.

9. THE DIVISION OF LABOUR.

9.1. In order to evaluate the work performance of fisherwomen in the comparative framework, we enquired about the division of labour practised by men and women. In response, we got the information that women perform more jobs than their men both inside and outside their homes. They explained it by saying that while the fisherwomen perform kitchen and other domestic works, the fishermen do the job of catching the fish only. This represents the broader division of labour prevailing in this community. This also reflects that this division of labour goes heavily in favour of men than women and thus the latter suffer.

10. FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION.

10.1. In the context of preceding theme, we made an enquiry whether the fisherwomen felt discriminated

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negatively within and outside their homes. In response, the majority of respondents [i.e. 67.00 percent] felt yes. They gave the examples of more work in the home and hard work in the market. Some of them interpreted this situation in terms of cruelty on them. On the other hand, about 29.00 percent respondents felt no. A significant number of these fisherwomen included those who usually stay at home. It may be said that these women do not face the real situation, especially outside their homes. Rest of the fisherwomen didn't gave any response.

11. OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY.

11.1. It has been stated that most of the fisherwomen inherited this occupation from elder generation/s in their families. This has been confirmed in our investigation. In response to our question related to this theme, a dominant majority of our respondents [i.e. 87.00 percent] said that they inherited the occupation of fishing from parents of both sides [their fathers-mothers and fathers-mothers-in-law]. In the economic framework prevailing in their families, they had no option except to adopt the occupation of fishing, particularly after their marriage. Other 13.00 percent fisherwomen respondents revealed that their parents from both sides were doing the work of wood-cutting. When they were married, they had to adopt rising occupation for earning for themselves, family members and children.

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11.2. At the same time, the respondents visualised partial occupational shift/change. A huge majority of respondents, i.e. 90.00 percent, preferred the service and business for their male children. Only 10.00 percent respondents preferred the occupations for their male children. Continuing this trend in their response, the 60.00 percent fisherwomen preferred government service for their female children and 40.00 percent of them mentioned fishing as future occupation of their female children. In fact, the occupational specialization is an important variable of their social setup.

11.3. Our enquiry about the fishing occupation revealed that socially it is estimated very low occupation. Nobody would like to work in this occupation nor would he like the adoption of this occupation by any of his near and dear. The fisherwomen felt that they are looked down upon because of this occupation. Some people even take liberty with us. Some people pass on bad remarks on us. Moreover, they conveyed that their image among general masses is not good. They consider us morally loose.

12. MARRIAGE PATTERN AND PRACTICES.

12.1. Marriage in the fisherwomen community has certain distinctive features. The first among those is the practice of early marriage. Our inquiry in this connection revealed the information included in the following table:

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TABLE NO. 6

Early marriage in fishermen community

S. No.	Age at marriage	No. of respondents[%]
1.	12 - 17	73.00
2.	18 - 25	27.00
	Total	**100.00**

12.2. In the fisherwomen community, the traditional practices and conventions are followed strictly and sacredly. That applies to the practice of early marriage. It also applies to the practice of arranged marriage.

Our investigation in this regard revealed that 100.00 percent marriages in the fishermen community were of the 'arranged marriage type'. It means that all marriages in the community were arranged by the parents and other family elders and there was no scope for individual's independent initiative. The respondents live in extremely traditional ethos and they could not think in terms of violating the traditions and conventions. If somebody does it, he or she will be punished severely or even thrown out of the community. In this situation, the respondents had to accept the parents choice.

12.3. Maintaining and continuing the above behaviour pattern, the dominant majority of the fisherwomen [i.e.

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about 64.00 percent] married within their endogamous [kin] group. Again, other 36.00 percent respondents married within their endogamous [occupational] group. Thus there was hardly any scope for exogamous marriage. The respondents felt that the indogamous marriage was easily done and they remained in close contact with their parents even after marriage.

12.4. Maintaining the above-mentioned trends, the respondents conveyed that mostly their marriage is of the patri-local type. About 87.00 percent respondents had shifted and subsequently settled in their husbands' houses after the marriage. On the other hand, matri-local practice of marriage was not common. About 13.00 percent fisherwomen said that their husbands shifted and settled in their houses/houseboats after the marriage.

13. MEHR AND DOWRY PRACTICES.

13.1. Nearly all fisherwomen respondents were aware of the fact that they had to get the amount of mehr from the groom at the time of marriage. However, in practice, all grooms do not pay mehr wholly or defer the payment of whole/part amount. In our enquiry, it was revealed that while 26 percent respondents got full amount of mahr at the time of marriage, 50.00 percent respondents got part of it at the time of marriage and the payment of rest of the amount was deferred to unknown period. The respondents felt that amount is never paid later on. On the other hand, 24.00 percent respondents conveyed that they were not paid any amount of mahr

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at the time of marriage. The payment of entire amount was deferred to unknown future date.

13.2. We also made an enquiry about the minimum, maximum and average amount of mehr paid by the boy to the girl at the time of their marriage. The information which we got is included in the following table:

TABLE NO. 7

Amount of Mahr paid in the Fishermen Community

S. No.	Amount of mahr	received by the respondents [%]
1.	Rs.400-Rs.1000	56.00
2.	Rs.1001-Rs. 3000	25.00
3.	Rs. 3001 and above	19.00
	Total	**100.00**

13.3. The general observation of the fisherwomen community is that the practice of dowry [from the girl's side to the boy's side] is not in vogue. When we enquired about this phenomenon, 81.00 percent of respondents revealed that they neither give nor take any amount or item of dowry. But, 19.00 percent respondents revealed that they have either given or taken the dowry amount or items. However, a huge majority of the fisherwomen respondents held that they take several items from their parents house to their husbands' house with their own consent. These items include gold ornaments, copper plates, bedding, radio and so on.

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14. LIVING PATTERN

14.1. Traditionally, the fisherwomen community lived in the cheaper variety of houseboats. However, with the general progress in the broader society, many of the fishermen built pucca houses and shifted to these houses for living. Among other things, this change reflected the economic mobility in the wider fishermen community. But, this kind of change has not occurred among our respondents. All of them lived in small houseboats and boats. In fact, their economic level didn't allow them to build the house or purchase the house. They are born in the boats and die in the boats.

15. DIVORCES

15.1. Our investigation revealed that there was no divorcee among our respondents. It may be explained in the way that no divorce has occurred among our respondents. It may also be said that some cases may have occurred, but their number is insignificant and ignorable. In fact, the divorce is considered highly undesirable.

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GENDER DISCRIMINATION AMONG THE GUJJARS

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of gender discrimination is global in nature irrespective of the differences in various societies on the basis of race, religion, region, culture, language and social-economic development. However, the fact stands that the gender discrimination has been minimized significantly in the developed countries of America and Western Europe, but, it still exists in the developing societies in Asia and Africa. In the latter case, the nation states, after decolonization and the consequent freedom, started organized and systematic efforts to negate and debase this ugly phenomenon. However, the success has been partial. Gender discrimination in the broader Indian society was deep-rooted and was supported by the religious, cultural, social and other factors. However, there were certain tribal communities, usually living on the periphery, which

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practised the primitive way of life. Among other things noticable, these communities did not practise discrimination especially on the basis of sex. In actuality, the primitive life-style kept hardly any scope for discriminating women. One such community is the Gujjars of Kashmir. They still practise the primitive way of life. Though several developmental processes have been initiated in their areas, their traditional way of life has not been changed significantly. In that context, the women in this community do not face extreme type of discrimination. It was essentially in this context that we carried out this survey among Gujjars living in Bandipora tehsil of Baramulla district.

This survey was carried out in late 1998 in the Gujjar-dominated village of Chattibandy in Baramulla district. 100 interviews were conducted there with 100 individuals representing their families. The respondents belonged to age groups of 8-17, 18-25, 26-40 and 41 above. During the course of fieldwork, the entire social situation was observed keenly.

In the field of gender discrimination, this survey stands as the initial attempt to understandd the Gujjars of Kashmir. I hope that this academic effort will be followed by many other academic efforts, so that the understanding of the Gujjar community gets enriched.

PATTERN OF WORK PERFORMANCE

Generally, in a situation of gender discrimination, men and women perform different types of work, inside as well as outside their homes. Moreover, while the set of works performed by men is considered necessary and given higher value, the set

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of works performed by women is given neither importance nor higher value. This phenomenon reflects in the existing social dynamics in the Gujjar society. Our investigation regarding differential pattern of work-performance among Gujjars revealed the following information:

[a] inside home works

performed by males	performed by females
looking alter animals	weaving lachaka {caps}
weaving	rearing children
sheep-keeping	cooking

[b] Outside home works

performed by males	performed by females
wage labour in orchards	rearing animals
agricultural activities	collection of honey, herbs and fruits.
govt. service	
labourer in carpet-weaving	taking wood from forests.
beggery	govt. service

The above patterns of work performance by males and females among Gujjars reveal that there does not exist extreme types of gender discrimination in the Gujjar society. In fact, most of the works are performed by both sexes. Except some basic works, there is not an extreme form of division of labour.

2. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

2.1. The Gujjars study revealed that they can broadly be divided in four major groups or sub-groups in terms

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of their economic activities. These groups/sub-groups and their proportion was as under:

- lachka weaving	50 % respondents
- collection of honey, etc.	10 % respondents
- beggery	10 % respondents
- govt. service	02 % respondents
- domestic jobs only	28 % respondents.

2.2. As has been observed by many experts, the Gujjars live in the primitive social ethos. So, there seems no limit on the interaction between males and males, especially in the area of economic activities. The Gujjar women do all kinds of works with their men inside as well outside their homes. This situation was also observed by us. In our investigation, about all [nearly 100%] respondents revealed that they work with their men at all places and in all situations. There seems no formal or informal restriction on this pattern of joint work. The respondents felt this type of work was natural and normal, and it does not need any change.

2.3. We made an inquiry among Gujjar women about the purpose of their economic activities. In response to our query whether they work to earn money, 40.00 percent respondents said yes. The areas of their activities include weaving, collection of honey, govt. service, and so on. On the other hand, about 60.00 respondents said that they don't perform economic activities because of earning money, which in their view, was the responsibility of their men. Moreover, they

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conveyed since there are no training centres [in which they could have learnt certain arts and crafts] in their residential areas and non-availability of market, there is no scope for their work on commercial basis.

2.4. In the context of above response, we enquired from Gujjar women respondents whether they are economically independent. Nearly all of them revealed that they were not economically independent. In was primarily because they performed their economic activities in an extremely traditional and primitive economic system. The only deviation observed was in case of two respondents [i.e. 2.00 percent] who had got middle-level education and subsequently got the government jobs because of reservation of job quota for them.

2.5. As is clear from the previous section, only two women work in the government offices and they get the regular salary. Consequently, they have achieved higher social status in this nearly illiterate community. This reflected in all social situations, especially at the time of marriage.

3. PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WOMEN

3.1. The nature of property rights of men and women reflect broader and legal rights of both sexes. In the case of Gujjar women, they have certain property rights as per shariat law but have no rights as per the customary law. More than 50.00 percent respondents felt strongly that they should get the fixed share in their parental

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property. About 90.00 percent of these women held that they get a share in the parental property customarily. This property includes items such as animals, land [without any document], pots and wooden boxes. They upheld that they got the parental property which was lesser than their brothers got. Thus brothers, according to them, are preferred. This response of the Gujjar women in Kashmir has to be necessarily in the context of their primitive life. They don't live at a place permanently and move from one place to other place with the change in seasons. This sedentric life-style never allows them to purchase any land and other things of some value. They live the primitive life and their belongings stand as less as possible except their cattle-sheep.

The above description about property rights of the Gujjar women reveals certain degree of discrimination among them. Though it prevails in the primitive context, they face certain disadvantages in comparison to their male counterparts in the community.

4. MARRIAGE PRACTICES

4.1. The nature of marriage practices in the Gujjar community sufficiently revealed the treatment which the women got in this community. The right of consent to marriage for a woman represents one such variable. In response to our question in this regard, while 40.00 percent women respondents conveyed that they were consulted by their parents or the family elders for their marriage. When they were asked to cite reasons for this

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parental or elders' behaviour, they cited reasons which include the following:

[a] daughter's specific demand;
[b] to avoid alternative consequences of the rejection of the daughter's demand;
[c] social contact with outsiders;
[d] social awareness.

On the other hand, 60.00 percent respondents conveyed that they were not consulted by their parents or other elders at the time of their marriage. The reasons they cited for this behaviour included the following:

[a] girls were considered immature;
[b] consulting girls about their marriage was considered as against the community norms;
[c] girls independence was not allowed.

4.2. An enquiry on the same theme was made in value framework. In response, we got three specific replies.

First, 70.00 percent respondents said that the right of consent to marriage should be given to the boy as well as to the girl. Second, 20.00 percent respondents said that this right should not be given to the son or daughter because they are too immature to take this crucial decision. Third, 10.00 percent respondents said that this right should be given to the son/s only as they stand more responsible than girls.

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4.3. Our investigation revealed that there exists a significant phenomenon of multi-marriage of women in this community. It follows that, due to various factors, women married more than once. In this situation, the ultimate loser is the woman. In this regard, our enquiry divulged the following details;

- woman married once 80.00 % respondents.
- woman married twice 14.00 % respondents.
- woman married thrice 06.00 % respondents.
- woman married four times none.

The reasons given by the women respondents for this type of multi-marriage were identified as follows:

[a] death of the husband 85.00 % respondents.
[b] divorce 10.00 % respondents
[c] missing of the husband 05.00 % respondents.

4.3. Our enquiry about the practices of patrilocal/ matrilocal marriage revealed that while 25 respondents had settled at their husbands' houses after marriage, 15 respondents had settled [with husband] at their own houses after marriage. This situation stands highly complex because most of the Gujjar women move from one place to another throughout the year.

4.4. Our investigation revealed that though the payment of mahr to the girl by the boy at the time of marriage was considered obligatory by all respondents, about 40.00 percent respondents only got it at the time or after

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the marriage. In the case of about 60.00 percent respondents, it was deferred at time of marriage and never paid later on. The major reasons responsible for the non-payment of mahr according to respondents, included poverty, lack of relevant knowledge, and no pressure from women's side. Our inquiry further revealed that the amount of mahr paid varied from Rs.20,000/- to 8,000/- depending upon the economic status of the family and individual concerned.

4.5. Our research revealed that about 80.00 percent respondents had paid dowry at the time of marriage. In these cases, the dowry items included sheep, goats, wooden boxes, quilts, matras, pots and blankets. In actuality, these items may not be strictly included as dowry items, particularly when there was no demand on the part of boy's side. But, the Gujjar respondents do not feel like that.

4.6. During our investigation, ten cases of divorce were noticed which had taken place in last few months.' Though this number reflect higher degree of divorces, the divorcees don't feel very bad about it. It was partly because divorce was not considered a taboo and partly because divorcees generally married after a brief gap. The major reasons responsible for these divorces included the following:

- ★ sexual problems;
- ★ misunderstanding between the mates;
- ★ wife beating;
- ★ family disputes;

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- ★ forced marriages;
- ★ impotency of the husband.

4.7. About 30.00 percent respondents reported that they were beaten regularly by their husbands. Though the number of such cases may be more, but this number of respondents dared to express about it. The reasons cited for this inhuman practice were

- ★ family disputes;
- ★ denial of authority to women;
- ★ dowry demand
- ★ loose character.

5. FAMILY STRUCTURE

5.1. Our investigation conveyed that while about 60.00 percent respondents lived in the joint family [which composed 10-20 persons], about 40.00 percent respondents lived in nuclear family [having 2-8 persons]. It was also observed that 70.00 percent families were headed by the eldest male member and 30.00 percent families were headed by the eldest female member. Supreme authority in the family lie usually with the eldest male member of the family/clan. In some cases [about 19.00 percent] the eldest female member held this authority. The same pattern is followed in the case of decision-making. 67.00 percent respondents revealed that all important decisions were taken the male member/s in the family exclusively. However, 33.00 percent respondents reported that

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women too were taken into confidence in decision-making.

6. SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN

6.1. In our investigation in the Gujjar community in Kashmir, it revealed that women are not treated badly. 61.00 percent respondents said that they arc treated 'nicely' within and outside their families. But, 39.00 percent respondents said that they were not treated badly in both parental and in-laws families.

6.2. The women's work in this community has certain definite value. Inquiry in this connection revealed that only daughter's work is valued high and the work of daughter-in-law is not valued high. 56.00 percent respondents upheld that women's work, though more than men's, stands appreciated by the male members.

6.3. About 71.00 percent respondents said that women have no say in the major decision-making within the family, while 29.00 percent respondents held that women take part in the family decision-making, especially related to the marriage of children, selling/ buying of land and animals.

6.4. It is generally believed that there prevails no sex segregation in the Gujjar community. This proved correct during our investigation in this regard. Near-total number of respondents upheld that they never practised sex segregation. It is because of the nature of economic activities. They said that they go to bahaks

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jointly rear animals jointly, reside in the tents jointly, and do agricultural activities jointly.

7. EDUCATION

1.1. The general impression is that the Gujjar women are completely illiterate. This has been confirmed by our research. However, certain developments have changed this situation slightly. Our investigation revealed that while 96.00 percent respondents were illiterate, about 4.00 percent were literate. When they were asked to cite reasons which are responsible for this situation, they conveyed reasons like extreme poverty, lack of educational facilities in their areas, no incentives from the govt. and not sufficient awareness about education. They upheld that this situation faces serious threat from the impact of television, radio and general exposure.

7.2. On the other hand, the situation is not the same in the case of Gujjars children. Our inquiry revealed that about 40.00 percent children go to schools established near their places of residence. These respondents felt that the parents of these children were made aware about many benefits of attaining education. But, at the same time, nearly 60.00 percent respondents' children were not going to the school mainly because of poverty, far off distance of the school, and no incentive from the govt.

7.3. It was observed that there prevails difference between the education of a boy and that of a girl. Our investigation revealed that in general boy's education is favoured and preferred. The rationale provided for

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this argument was that boys have to prepare themselves for good earning, which is needed by the family. On the other hand, the girl's education was considered not an asset but something which they have to part with after some time. The value environment supported these ideas strongly.

8. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP

8.1. As is clear from their life-style, the Gujjars maintain the traditional framework of relationship between different members within and outside the family. We enquired from the respondents how they were treated by the males within and outside their families. Their response is explained as follows:

In-family situation

- ★ - treated nicely 61.00%
- ★ - treated badly 39.00 %

Out-family situation

- ★ - treated nicely 100.00%
- ★ - treated badly 00.00

In terms of values, all respondents feel strongly that women must be considered equal, must be respected and should not be ill-treated.

9. CONDITION OF CHILDREN

9.1. Our investigation conveyed that a female respondent on an average had 7 children [4 females and 3 males]. This number, according to them, was a

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standard number of children. 80.00 percent respondents had 3 children on an average. We enquired about this large number of children. The respondents gave the following reasons in this regard:

- ★ prohibition of family planning,
- ★ Islamic objection of family planning,
- ★ More children are needed for their day-to-day works,
- ★ Man's desire to have more children.

9.2. 30 respondents revealed that their child/children died after taking birth. It follows that every woman in the Gujjar community had experienced the death of 2 or 3 children. In these deaths, the number of girl children was more than the boy children.

9.3. Since the Gujjar women go out of home for routine domestic activities, their children are taken care of by others in the home. When we enquired about this, we got the response which follows:

- ★ grand parents 50 respondents.
- ★ elder sisters/in-laws 30 respondents.
- ★ self 20 respondents.

10. HEALTH AND NUTRITION

10.1. On our enquiry, the respondents identified the following diseases as the common diseases in the Gujjar community:

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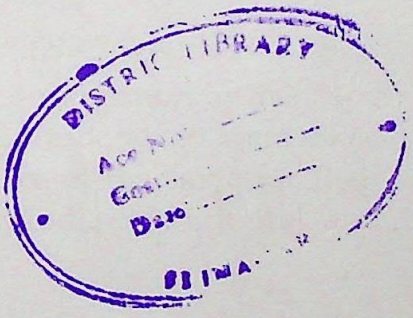
- ★ chest diseases;
- ★ blood pressure;
- ★ leprosy;
- ★ fever;
- ★ general weakness;
- ★ intestinel problems;
- ★ allergies.

The respondents also said that 10 percent treatment to these diseases was available to them, which is very very less. As a result of this situation, many people die before they could be taken to the nearby town - Bandipora.

10.2. All respondents said that there is a sub-centre for medical treatment, it is always without medicines. Not to talk of costly and life-saving drugs, cheap and necessary medicines are also not available. In most of the cases, the patients have to be taken to Bandipora for treatment. Moreover, people have to walk on foot till Bandipora as there is no transport facility available.



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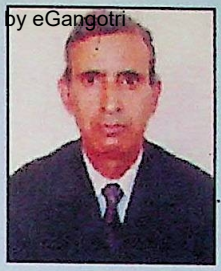

Dr. Bashir A. Dabla is an eminent sociologist of Kashmir. He is Professor and Head, Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Kashmir, Srinagar. After graduating from Kashmir University, he carried out M.A., M.Phil, and Ph.D. programmes of study-research at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Subsequently, he worked in the J&K Government as Assistant Director (Department of Social Welfare) and Press Officer (Chief Minister's Secretariat) for a brief period. Dr. Dabla started his academic career from Aligarh Muslim University (Department of Sociology), Aligarh, U.P. He shifted to Kashmir University in 1989 where he established the Department of Sociology and later enlarged it to Social Work. Professor Dabla has recently been offered the prestigious Fellowship by Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Dr. Dabla is a prolific writer, dedicated scholar-researcher and insightful sociologist. He has published 6 books and about 65 papers-articles in national and international journals-magazines on various sociological themes and focussed on Kashmir.

Dr. Dabla has carried out many Research Projects sponsored by national and international agencies / organizations. Some important projects were

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Sociological Implications of Migration in J&K (U.G.C.)

Domestic Violence against Women in Kashmir *(State Womens Commission)*

Education and Social Mobility among SCs in J&K *(MinistryofSocialJustice)*

Cultural Revival among Kashmiri Student Youth *(I.P.R.A.)*

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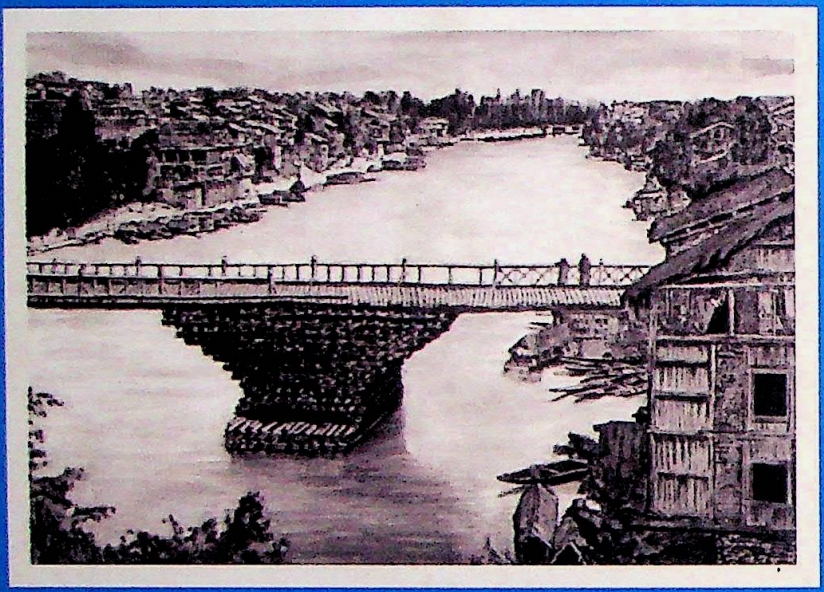
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